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THE MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MUHAMMADAN AND HINDU
OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVERIGNS OF
INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1750 A.D.

NAWWĀB SAMSĀ'UD DAULĀ SHAH NAWĀZ KHĀN

ABDUL HAYY

EDITOR

TRANSLATED BY

H. BLAIR BRIDGE, B.A. (R.D.)

AND
REVISOR AND CORRECTOR
BAINI PRASHAD, D.Sc., I.R.A.S.B.



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WORK No 202

MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION WITH NOTES AND PREFACE)

THE MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BEING

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MUHAMMADAN AND HINDU
OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVEREIGNS OF
INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1780 A D

BY

NAWWĀB SAMSĀM-UD-DAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN

AND HIS SON

‘ABDUL HAYY

(SECOND EDITION)

TRANSLATED BY

H BEVERIDGE, B C S (RETD)

REVISED, ANNOTATED AND COMPLETED BY

BAINI PRASHAD, D Sc , F R A S B

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PREFACE

The late Professor Dowson¹ rightly described the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* as 'the Peerage of the Mughal Empire', and remarked 'It consists of a Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindūstān and the Dakhn under the house of Tīmūr from Akbar to 1155 A H'. He described it as the work of Shāh Nawāz Khān Samsām-ud-Daulā, and referred to its two manuscript editions. The first was prepared by the author, and later restored with a few editions by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, it consisted of 261 biographies including the life of the author by the editor. The second edition was the work of the son of 'Samsāmu-d daula, named 'Abdu-l Hai Khān' who 'completed the work in its present form. The biographies in the second edition are 731² in number giving an increase of 569 lives not contained in the former edition. They are very ably written, and are full of important historical detail, and as they include the lives of all the most eminent men who flourished in the times of the Mughal Emperors of the House of Tīmūr down to 1194 A H (1780 A D), the *Ma-āsiru-l umarā* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian History'.

From this brief but very succinct description of the genesis of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, it is clear that the work was planned and executed by the author whose full name was Mīr 'Abd-ur-Razzāq, Nawwāb Šamsām-ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān Khawāfī Aurangābādī. It was during the period of this forced retirement of six years following the defeat of his patron Nāsir Jang in the battle of Burhānpūr on 3rd August, 1741, and till he was reappointed governor of Berār in 1747, that he devoted himself to the compilation of the work³. In the life of the author by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād the period of his retirement is incorrectly given as five years⁴. After Šamsām-ud-Daula's reinstatement in office, the work was apparently forgotten, but in reply to a remark⁵ of his son Abdul Hayy he suggested that the latter should complete it. After Samsām-ud-Daula's arrest on 5th April, 1758, his house was plundered, and the manuscript of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* together with all his library was lost. It was recovered in an incomplete form a year later, and some twelve years after its composition (i.e., in 1759), it was rearranged and completed by the author's close friend and associate Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād⁶, this constituted the so-called first edition⁷. 'Abdul Hayy, who

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VIII, pp 187-189 (1877), the account, as the editor noted, is based mainly on Morley, *Descr Cat Hist MSS Arabic and Persian Roy As Soc*, pp 101-105 (1854).

² In reference to the number of biographies also see Beveridge's Note 1 on p 33 of the translation. The biographies by the son 'Abdul Hayy are distinguished by the letter Qāf which is an abbreviation *Alhaq* or supplement.

³ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp 727, 728.

⁴ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text I, p 19, Beveridge's translation, p 16.

⁵ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text I, p 3, Beveridge's translation, p 2.

⁶ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text I, p 11, Beveridge's translation, p 10.

⁷ For descriptions of the two editions, see in addition to Morley and Dowson cited already, Rieu, *Cat Persian MSS British Museum*, I, pp 339-341 (1879), and Kanaw, W., *Descr Cat Persian MSS As Soc Bengal*, pp 69, 70, Nos 213, 214 (1924).

had fortunately escaped death, and who later received his father's title and a high rank, started the preparation of additional biographies in 1182 A H (1768-69 A D), and completed the second edition in 1194 A H (1780 A D)¹, it was this edition which formed the basis of the three volumes of the Text-edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal during 1887-96 (for details *vide infra*). On the title pages of the three parts of the English translation of the work published up to 1914, Mr H Beveridge gives 'Nawāb Samsām-ud-daula Shāh Nawāz Khān and his son Abdul Haqq' as the names of the authors. This mistake is repeated by Beni Prasad² in his short but valuable notice of the work and by Arberry³. There is no reference to any son of the name of 'Abdul Haqq' in the autobiographical accounts of Samsām-ud-Daula in the *Maāthir* nor is any such person mentioned as the joint author of work in the fairly detailed biographies and descriptions of *Maāthir* by Ghulām Ali Āzād and 'Abdul Hayy'. The mistake is apparently due to Beveridge reading the name 'Abdul Hayy' as 'Abdul Haqq'. A similar mistake in reference to the authorship of the work was made by Stewart⁴ who stated 'This book was compiled by Abd al Hy Ben Abd al Rezāk Shāh Nūāz Khān, and finished by his son Samsām al Dowla, A D 1779'.

The publication of the Text-edition by the Asiatic Society of Bengal was started under the editorship of Maulvi Abdur Rahim in 1887 and the work was completed by Maulvi Mirza Ashraf Ali in three volumes in 1896. Details of the dates of publication, etc., of the various parts are as follows—

Vol I—Fascicles 1-ix (1887-88), edited by M. Abdur Rahim
Fascicles x, xi, Index (1894), by M. Ashraf Ali

Vol II—Fascicles 1-ix (1888-89), edited by M. Abdur Rahim
Fascicles x-xii, Index and List of Contents of Vols II, III (1896), by M. Ashraf Ali

Vol III—Fascicles 1-vi (1890-95) by M. Ashraf Ali

In July, 1906, Mr H Beveridge—to whom and his talented wife Mrs Annette Susanna Beveridge the students of Indian History will always remain indebted for their masterly translations of *Akbarnāma*, *Tāzūk 1-Jahāngīrī*, *Humāyūn-Nāma* of Gulbadan Bīgam and the *Bābur-Nāma*—offered to prepare for the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series an English translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. The Council of the Society in its meeting of November, 1908, agreed to its publication and 600 pages of the work comprising Fascicles 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6, of 200 pages each, were issued in 1911, 1913 and 1914. In the translation the author followed the alphabetical arrangement for the biographies, but naturally the sequence of the various notices is quite different from that in the three volumes of the Text-edition. The printed part consists of the introduction—including the remarks in reference to the two editions and the life of the author—and 219 biographies which

¹ *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text I, pp 3-5, Beveridge's translation pp 1-7

² Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp 450, 451 (1931)

³ Arberry, *Cat. Library India Office, Persian Books*, II, Pt 6, p 273 (1937)

⁴ Stewart, *Deser. Cat. Oriental Libr. of Tipoo Sultan*, p 19 (1809) and in the descriptive account of the authorities prefacing his *History of Bengal* (1813), the mistake was pointed out by Prof Dowson, *op cit* p 189

were dealt with under the letters *A* to a part of *H*. Unfortunately, the arrangement is rather faulty and a number of biographies, which should have been dealt with under these letters, have been left out. The arrangement in regard to the various biographies is somewhat arbitrary, and as the author did not give the volume or page numbers for the biographies translated, it is not easy to find out the ones which have still to be dealt with. In the table of contents, I have supplied this deficiency by giving the numbers of the volume and the pages on which the accounts are to be found in the Text-edition.

The part now printed, and which with the first six fascicles will form Volume I of the translation, consists of the remainder of the account of Haidar Quli Khān (No. 223), and Nos. 224–254 of the letter *H*, Nos. 255–295 of the letter *I*, Nos. 296–324 of the letter *J*, Nos. 325–358 of the letter *K* and Nos. 359–365 of the letter *L*, in all 142 biographies. In this part an attempt has been made to revise and complete the translations, to indicate as far as possible the sources from which the accounts were taken, and to supply references to recent literature in the foot-notes. The references to printed texts are mainly to editions published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, and the same applies to the translations so far as these have been published. This, owing to the absence of or the very defective indices available, has involved a great deal of reading, and it is likely that references may have been missed in several cases. It has not been possible to check all historical data, but names of various places have been corrected with reference to the modern spellings in the *Imperial Gazetteer* so far as possible. The conversion of the Hijrī dates as given in the Text-edition into dates according to the New Style of the Christian Era has been effected with the help of Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (Leipzig, 1926). The standard scheme for transliteration recently adopted by the Society has been followed with slight modifications. To reduce the cost of publication the *format* and type for the new part were changed from the more expensive form used in the earlier fascicles to that used for the *Journal* of the Society. For facilitating reference the volume and page numbers of the biographies dealt with in this part are given under the names of the nobles as also in the *Contents*. The names of the nobles dealt with are also printed as page-headings over the accounts.

I am fully conscious of the shortcomings in the work as now issued, but these are natural when one is editing a posthumous work from an imperfect manuscript. An entirely new version would probably have resulted in a better translation, but this was not possible, as the only consideration which weighed with me in agreeing to complete the work was to preserve the work of Mr. Beveridge. The translation of a text of some 2,700 pages must have been a stupendous undertaking and entailed no end of hard work for the author in his advanced age—Mr. Beveridge was 92 years of age when he died on 8th November, 1929, and the work was begun by him when he was well over seventy. While craving the indulgence of my readers for the imperfections in the translation, *format*, etc., I hope that this great monument of the scholarship, industry and devotion of the late Mr. Henry Beveridge will prove useful to students of Indian History particularly for the Mughal Period.

I am grateful to my colleague Dr. B. S. Guha, the General Secretary of the Society for facilities provided in connection with this work. My

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thanks are due to my friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the leading authority on Indian History of the Moghul Period, for his valuable suggestions and the loan of some works from his personal library. I am also indebted to Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hosam for his ever-ready help in the elucidation of several difficulties. The staff of the Library and the Persian and Arabic Department of the Society have helped me ungrudgingly at all times. Finally, I have to acknowledge the ready co-operation of Mr G E Bingham of the Baptist Mission Press in the expeditious printing of this work.

BAINI PRASHAD

MUSEUM HOUSE,
CALCUTTA,
31st August, 1941

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¹ The spellings of the names and titles for the first 219 biographies and the introductions are given as they are printed in the fascicles published up to 1914. For facilitating reference to the Text the volume and page numbers of the Text-edition are, however, given within brackets after each name. The supplementary biographies by 'Abdul Hayy are distinguished by the letter *Q*.

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¹ For Firūz Jang read Firūz Khān

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the *Khālṣa* property¹ and the superintendence of other allied sections was assigned to him. After reaching that province (*Sūba*), as he was very harsh-tempered, he could not pull on with Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, the Viceroy of that province. He, therefore, hastened back to the Capital, and was exalted by being appointed as the *Divān* of Aḥmadābād, the revenue officer of the port of Sūrāt and the deputy governor of Gujarāt²—this office in those days formed part of the assignment of Khān Daurān. And having efficiently performed his duties there, he showed a material increase in the realizations from the port dues and in the *Khālṣa* revenues, which had been assigned to his charge. And through his bravery he defeated Safdar Khān Thānī who had a much larger force with him. But he was not popular with the public owing to his harsh temperament, and the fief-holders of the province all complained against him, this resulted in the displeasure of Qutb-ul-Mulk. In the reign of Sultān Rafīʿ-ud-Darajāt, on his transfer from Gujarāt he returned to Akbarābād, and after a time attached himself closely to Saiyid ʿIzzat Khān Bārah, and with his approval made an alliance with Rāja Ratan Chand. Through the intermediation of Husam ʿAlī Khān having been restored to favour with Qutb-ul-Mulk, he became a close associate of both the brothers.

And when in the reign of Sultān Rafīʿ-ud-Daula, Husam ʿAlī Khān turned towards Akbarābād for dealing with the disturbance³ caused by Nēkū-siyar, son of Sultān Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzīb, he (Muʿizz-ud-Daula) was honoured by the grant of the title of Bahādur, and sent with the vanguard to clear the route, and was appointed to lead in the siege of the fort of Akbarābād. In the first year of the reign (1719 A D) of *Firdaus ʿĀrāmghāh* (Muḥammad Shāh) he⁴ was sent with a large army to chastise Girdhar Bahādur, who since the death of Rāja Chabilā Rām Nāgar had raised the head of rebellion in the *Sūba* of Allahābād. And when through the intermediation of Rāja Ratan Chand this affair was peacefully settled, he returned to the royal Presence, and in the same year was exalted to the post of *Mīr ʿĀtish* (Commander of the artillery), which had fallen vacant owing to the death of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah. After Husam ʿAlī Khān was killed and when Saiyid ʿIzzat Khān Bārah and other associates of the above-mentioned Khān turned towards the royal residence, he (Muʿizz-ud-Daula) with all available infantry and cavalry served the royal cause with great courage and bravery. As a result his rank was advanced to 6,000, with 6,000 horse, and he beat the drum of triumph on being granted the title of

¹ The publication of the translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* by H. Beveridge was held in abeyance since 1914 after 600 pages had been printed. It is now continued from the incomplete manuscript left by the learned author. The account on this and the following pages is a translation of the biography of Haidar Quli Khān in Text III, pp 747-751. For facilitating reference, the volume and page numbers of the various biographies in the Text edition are given, within brackets, under each name.

² For an account of Haidar Quli Khān in Gujarāt, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp 127-130. There is, however, no mention of his fight with Safdar Khān in this account. Also see the same work, I, p 413, note §.

³ See Irvine, *op cit*, pp 413, 414.

⁴ See Irvine, *op cit*, II, pp 9-16.

Nāṣir Jang¹ In the battle², which took place with Qutb-ul-Mulk on behalf of Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Rafī'-uṣh-Shān, he was appointed to the vanguard, and performed most valuable services through his artillery, and later with the sword he put to test the bravery of his opponents Qutb-ul-Mulk Bahādur, who had received a wound³ on the hand, was carried by him on an elephant to the presence of the King. As a reward for these valuable services his rank was raised to 7,000, with 7,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daula. In the year 1133 A H (1720-21 A D), the governorship of Gujarāt and the revenue accountancy of the port of Sūrat was transferred from Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān to him in addition to his office of the Mir Ātish. And in the next year, when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh was summoned from the Deccan and adorned with the robes of the premiership after the death of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur I'timād-ud-Daula, he, who was well known for his eloquence and bravery, began to interfere in administrative and financial affairs. The Premier did not approve of it, and as he was favoured by the King, the latter prohibited him (from such interference). He was greatly annoyed and left for Aḥmadābād, where he took possession of the revenues of the Khālsa properties and the assessments of the fief-holders. Consequently his fief in the neighbourhood of the Capital was confiscated. On hearing this news he wrote to the officials at the Court, that as my fief has been confiscated, I can no longer remain in service or allegiance. The governorship of that area was consequently transferred to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh Bahādur, and the latter started to take up his office. On receipt of this news and as the latter had collected a large army, he hastened to present himself at the Court, and on reaching it about two stages from Shāhjahānābād was appointed to recover the province of Ajmēr, which had meanwhile been occupied by Ajit Singh. And later when Garh Patilī⁴ was also conquered, he returned to the Court. In the year 1137 A H (1724-25 A D) he was one night sleeping with his wife in the cold chamber (*Khas khāna*) when it caught fire, and he was burnt. He was capable of doing great deeds, and his great achievements had enhanced his reputation for bravery, but his temper was not devoid of harshness and concert. It is stated that he used to take his food very hot, so much so that on his table they used to serve the cooked victuals placed on a chafing dish full of fire.

HĀKIM BĒG

(Vol I, pp 573-576)

He was the son-in-law of I'timād-ud-Daula Jahāngīr. During the time of Jahāngīr when the friends and connections of I'timād-ud-Daula all became Khāns and Tarkhāns, Hākim Bēg also obtained the insignia

¹ The editors of the Text add that, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, he was given the rank of 7,000, six thousand one horse cavalry, and the title of Haidar Quli Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang.

² Battle of Hasanpūr, see Irvine, *op cit*, pp 85-96.

³ The editors of the Text give as a variant the version of the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, according to which Qutb-ul-Mulk had two wounds, one made by an arrow on his forehead and the other a sword cut on the hand. Only a single wound on the hand is mentioned in Irvine, *op cit*, p 91.

⁴ For the mysterious Garh Patilī or Putilī, see Irvine, *op cit*, II, p 112, note *

and rank of an Anūr His wife, Khadija Bēgam, was greatly honoured and respected as the sister of Nūr Jahān Bēgam She lived to the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, and by the influence of Yauṇin-ud-Daula (Āsaf Khān), her elder brother she suffered no diminution in the consideration paid to her She was continually gratified by royal favours, and in the 24th year *Firdaus Ashiyānī* (Shāh Jahān) presented her with Rs 30,000 As Hākīm Bēg was a Moghul not devoid of culture and talent, he desired to lead an independent life in conditions of ease and comfort *Jannat Makānī* (Jahāngīr) in consideration of his relationship excused him from personal attendance, and employed him chiefly on external affairs For a time he was the governor of Mathurā, but later was removed from this post The cause of this was that a *sanyāsī* named Achad Rūp Asram, who was an ascetic and a monotheist, and who had dug a cave for his dwelling in a ridge (*pushta*) situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain, and in a corner of the desert removed from human habitation The mouth of the cave measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ *giriḥ*¹ long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad He entered by extending forwards his arms, and then inserted his head After that he drew his body inwards like a snake He came out in the same way, to the surprise of the spectators He had neither a mat nor any straw that he might spread below him when the wind was cold, nor had he a fire in winter, or any breeze (*bād*) in hot weather He had half-a-cubit of cotton cloth with which he covered his body in front and behind Every day he went out twice to the river to bathe, and carried in his hand a copper vessel with which to drink water He frequented in Ujjain seven Brahman (? Hindū) houses where there were women and children, and where beggary and contentment were respected, and once a day he came without warning to three of these seven households and stood like a beggar They put into the palm of his hand five mouthfuls of the food which they had prepared for themselves These he swallowed without tasting, on condition that there was not in the house any menstruous woman, or feast, or calamity or birth The Hindūs call the maintainer of such a position (*maqām*) *Sarb nāsī*,² i.e., abandoner of

¹ The *giriḥ* is three finger-breadths It also means a knot According to Gladwin there are 24 fingerbreadths in a *gaz* or yard, and, if so, a *giriḥ* would be one-eighth of a yard But in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in I* (2nd edn), p. 94, note 3, it is stated that it is commonly calculated as 16 *giriḥ* to a yard (*gaz*). Perhaps the cave at Ujjain mentioned in Mr Tawney's preface, p. 6, to his translation of *Bhartrihari's Centuries* and called *Bhartrihari's Gumpā* was occupied by Jadrūp.

² This is taken from the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I pp. 355-357, 359, where the ascetic is called Jadrūp, and from the *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 94, where he is called Ajahad Perhaps the account on p. 129 of Price's *Jahāngīr* of a visit that Jahāngīr paid to a recluse at Mathurā refers to the same ascetic, as Ajada afterwards went there The Sanskrit word is *Sarvanāśm* all destroying, and *sar tārik* in the text should apparently be *sarba tārik*, i.e., all-forsaking The statement about the seven Brahman houses—where probably the word Brahman merely means Hindū—may be compared with the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Jarrett's translation, III, p. 275, where it is said the ascetic sets out begging and solicits from three, five or seven houses Jahāngīr mentions that Akbar visited the ascetic on his way back to Āgra after the taking of Asirgarh Apparently *Asram* is no part of the hermit's name, but is *āśrama*—a hermitage Perhaps the name should be Achdrup, i.e. of flawless favour

Jadrūp or Chatrūpa is mentioned in the *Dabistān*, pp. 228, 229 of Calcutta edn It is said there that 'Abd-ur-Rahīm paid his respects to him, and that he died in 1047 (1637-38 A.D.) at Benāres The author of the *Dabistān* was taken to him when a child

everything When in the eleventh year (of his reign) Jahāngīr passed the city of Ujjain, he went to visit this ascetic Though the latter was not greatly inclined to human society, he had long conversations with Jahāngīr He was well versed in the philosophy of the Vedānta By his understanding and lofty comprehension he harmonised the technical terms of the Sufism of Muhammadans with his own views and discoursed on them Jahāngīr came to have full faith in him After some time he moved from Ujjain to Mathurā, which is one of the centres of worship for the Hindūs, and on the banks of the Jumnā worshipped God after his own fashion When¹ in the 14th year Jahāngīr paid his first visit (as Emperor) to Kashmīr he again visited him, and had a long private interview with him His words made a great impression on the Emperor's mind He was successful in every request that he made for the people For instance Khān A'zam Kōka was much vexed at the long imprisonment of Sultān Khusrāu, and in spite of religious bigotry he paid a solitary visit² to the ascetic and made an urgent request to him to intercede for the liberation of Khusrāu He spoke convincing words to the Emperor and induced him to be gracious He forgave the Prince's offences, and ordered that he should be admitted to pay his respects So difficult a matter became easy through the representation of this disinterested man Inasmuch as the King had trust in him, many people flocked to see him

Though he had no dealings with anyone, and lived tranquilly without joy or sorrow, yet Hākīm Bēg either moved by zeal for the Muhammadan faith or thinking that the resort of the people to the ascetic injured his power, one day had that helpless man severely scourged The Emperor on hearing this was very angry Though no one had so much influence over him as the Bēgam (Nūr Jahān), yet he dismissed him from his presence, and deprived him of his office, his rank, and his jāgīr Hākīm Bēg lived after this as a private individual in Āgra, and near the *Nakhkhās* (cattle-market) made a garden which for beauty was the envy of the rose-garden of Kashmīr There he died His son, Mīrzā Nūr-ud-Dahr, also did not care for royal service, but lived on the wealth of his mother and maternal uncles, and spent his days in perfect comfort

HAKIM HĀDHĪQ³

(Vol I, pp 587-590)

He was the son of Hākīm Humām Gilanī, and was born at Fathpūr Sikrī during the reign of 'Arash Āshiyānī (Akbar) His father died when he was still young As his ancestors were all possessed of ability and knowledge, he also spent his time in acquiring the ordinary sciences and became famous for his knowledge of literature and poetry Though he was not deeply skilled in medicine, he gained a name by his skill and was reputed in Jahāngīr's time for his judgment and reliability When the throne acquired new lustre by the accession of Firdaus Āshiyānī

^{1,2} *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p 129 This was at Mathurā

³ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 530 The account of his father Hākīm Humām is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp 563-565, and its translation immediately following this biography on pp 606, 607

(Shāh Jahān), he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and in the same year was sent ¹ on an embassy to Tūrān. Imām Qulī Khān, the ruler of that country, had set in motion the chain of love and friendship, and sent 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khwāja Jū'ibārī (Naqshbandī) as his representative to Jahāngīr, and had written that "Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī has not respected the old ties and has taken Qandahār from the imperial servants. It is fitting that the Prince, the heir-apparent (Shāh Jahān), should be sent with a large army and proper equipment to retake it. We also will hurry there with the army of Transoxiana, Balkh and Badakhshān, and shall fulfil the conditions of loyalty. After the victory let us take Khurāsān, and whatever you wish of that country may be included in the imperial domains and the remainder granted to us." The death of Jahāngīr occurred suddenly during these negotiations. The Khwāja came in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign from Lāhore to Akbarābād (Āgra), and had an audience, shortly afterwards he died of a disease of long standing. It became necessary to send from this side an affectionate letter and to appoint an ambassador. The Hakīm, whose father had gone as an ambassador to 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbek in the time of Akbar, was sent with gifts to the value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees and rarities of India. On his return in the 4th year he was appointed to the office of Reviser of Petitions—an appointment which requires ability in composition and tact—in the room of Hakīm Masīh-uz-Zamān (Hakīm Sadra). Afterwards, by successive increases, he attained to the rank of 3,000, and then for certain reasons he lost his office and lived in retirement in Akbarābād, but received a fixed pay of Rs 20,000 a year, which in the 18th year was increased to Rs 40,000. In the 31st year, 1068, he died. The author ² of the *Mīrāt-ul-'Ālam* says he died in 1080 (1669-70 A D).

The Hakīm was very hot-tempered and very haughty and pompous. He was very conceited, and had mistaken ideas about himself. The quatrain of Mīr Nāhī ³ of Hamadān (about him) is well known. This Mīr was one of the clever writers and went to call on the Hakīm at Kābul when the latter was returning from Tūrān, but did not have a pleasant interview.

Quatrain ⁴

Stone and jug cannot long agree,
In the eye of comradeship there cannot exist a flaw,
Companionship with Hakīm Hādhīq is not wise
You cannot face a host of horses

¹ Cf Vambery's *Bohara*, pp 315, 316, where Hakīm Hādhīq is stated to have been sent by Jahāngīr, but see *Bādshāhnāmā*, I, pt 1, p 233 and Rieu, *Supp Cat*, p 206. *Bādshāhnāmā* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī is usually referred to as *Pādshāhnāmā*, but as the edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series cited in this work was called *Bādshāhnāmā*, this name is followed.

² See Blochmann, *op cit*, p 330, and Rieu, *Supp*, p 206, No 325.

³ Rieu, *Cat II*, p 687b. Sprenger, *Cat*, p 435.

⁴ *Sang u-sabūr* is a phrase for servitude, but here it seems equivalent to the proverb that the earthen and brazen pots cannot float down together. The word for flaw is *mū* a hair, and "a hair in the eye" is a phrase used in describing a sty. In the third line there is a play on the word *hādhīq* which has the two meanings clever and sour as vinegar. The phrase *lashkar-i-Khabī* in the fourth line is obscure, for *Khabī* has several meanings. It means a blow and also to

Though he had not mastered the science of medicine, several officers in view of his name and reputation consulted him for remedies. He began to write the events of the reign of *Sāhib Qirān Thānī* (*Shāh Jahān*) but withdrew his hand when other abler writers took up the task. His poems¹ are clear and good, and he has combined the style of his predecessors with that of more recent date. They are not devoid of sweetness, but he thought himself a better poet than Anwarī! He got up his *Dīnān* in a very elegant manner and placing it on a decorated stand, brought it with him into every assemblage. Whoever did not choose to honour it, was, irrespective of his rank, treated with discourtesy. He put it on a golden reading-stand and had it read out. This verse of his is well known.

Verse

My heart, O *Hādhiq*, cannot be comforted by any consolation,
I've seen Spring and flowers and Autumn

HAKİM HUMĀM 2

(Vol. I, pp. 563-565)

He was the (younger) brother of *Hakīm Abūl Fath Gilanī*. His name was *Humāyūn*. When he entered Akbar's service, he first, out of respect, took the name of *Humāyūn Qulī* and afterwards acquired the name of *Hakīm Humām*. He was unequalled for his knowledge of calligraphy (*Ḥāt shīnāsī*) and understanding of poetry. He also had some knowledge of physical sciences and medicine. He had a pure nature, and was open-browed and pleasant of speech, and an agreeable companion. Though officially he only had the rank of 600 and the position of *Bakāwal Bēg*, he really enjoyed a higher rank in his intimacy with the King. In the 31st year, as his skill in business and his loyalty were known to Akbar, he was sent on an embassy to 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān. Mirān Šadr Jahān Muftī was sent along with him to offer condolences on the death of Sikandar Khān—'Abdullāh Khān's father—who had died three years earlier. Out of great affection for the *Hakīm*, it was mentioned in the letter that "We had no intention of sending away to a distance from us that asylum of instruction and talent, cream of devoted loyalists, best of our confidants, the skilful *Hakīm Humām*, who is a right-speaking and right acting man, and who, from the commencement of his service, has been in close attendance on us. But we have sent him as an envoy, because he holds such a position with ourselves that he submits matters to us without the intervention of anyone else. If in your honourable interview you treat him in a similar manner, they will be like direct communications between you and me."

During his absence Akbar often remarked "Since Hakīm Humām has gone, my food¹ has not the same taste" And he said to Hakīm Abūl Fath "I do not think that you can be more grieved at his departure than I am Where can one find the like of Hakīm Humām" When he was returning from Kashmīr² in the 34th year, Hakīm Humām, as he was returning from Tūrān, met the Emperor at the station of Bārik Āb After he had paid his respects, Akbar in condoling with him (for the death of Abūl Fath) said to him "You had one brother and he has gone to another world We have lost ten"

Verse

According to the calculation of the eyes, one person has gone
According to wisdom's calculation, more than thousands

In the 40th year, 1004 (30th October, 1595 A D) he died of tuberculosis (*tap-i-diqq*) after two months' illness³ He had two sons One was Hakīm Hādhiq of whom an account is given separately The other was Hakīm Khushhāl He attained the rank of 1,000 in Shāh Jahān's reign and went as the Bakhshī to the Deccan Mahābat Khān when he was the governor of the Deccan was very kind to him

HAKĪM-UL-MULK

(Vol I, pp 599, 600)

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Mahdī, and his native country was Ardistān In the year of Aurangzib's march from the Deccan towards the capital, Hakīm-ul-Mulk accompanied him and received the rank of 1,000 Later he received the title of Hakīm-ul-Mulk, and in the 11th year attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse In the 37th year, when Muḥammad A'zam Shāh (the third son of Aurangzib) was ill with dropsy, and the disease had proceeded so far that even a sleeve nearly fourteen *gīrahs*⁴ in circumference was narrow for him, and the circumference of his trousers⁵ was one yard and six *gīrahs*, Hakīm-ul-Mulk was sent to prescribe for him When the Prince arrived, the King out of paternal affection had a tent set up for him inside of the palisade (*gulālbār*)⁶ and visited him once every day He and Zīb-un-nisā⁷ Bēgam, the Prince's full sister, were contented with having a strictly ascetic meal in his

¹ As Hakīm Humām was *Bakāwal Bēg* or Steward of the Kitchen, he must have been present during Akbar's meals In *Ā'in* (Blochmann's translation, I, 2nd edn., p 59) he is called *Mīr Bakāwal* or Master of the Kitchen

² In the Text Kābul, but Akbar was then on his way to Kābul from Kashmīr, vide Beveridge's translation of *Albarnāma*, III, p 1041

³ He was buried at Hasan Abdāl beside his brother For Hakīm Hādhiq, see *ante*, pp 604-606

⁴ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), p 94, note 3, says 16 is the common number of *gīrahs*, or knots, in a yard, but the dictionaries say that a *gīrah* is three finger breadths, and Gladwin says there are twenty four finger-breadths (and consequently 8 *gīrahs*) in a yard

⁵ The text has *pāarcha*, but *Maāthir* : *Ālamgīrī*, p 362, has *pārcha*

⁶ *Kulālbār* in the text appears to be a misprint

⁷ See *Maāthir* : *Ālamgīrī*, p 361, where there is the conjunction between *Khud* and the *Nawwāb* : *Qudsīya* The name of the sister in that work is Zinat-un-nisā

company. Hakīm-ul-Mulk, who had been appointed to attend on the Prince, displayed great skill both during the journey and after coming to the Court. After the Prince's recovery he obtained an increase of 1,000 *dhāt* and became an officer of the rank of 4,000.

The author of the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*¹ reports that the Prince said to his father as follows: "One day when the disease was very violent, and all were full of despair and thought my body would burst, suddenly a radiant figure appeared to me when I was between sleeping and waking, and said 'Heartily repent and you will be cured'." Accordingly I repented. When I had done so, I felt a desire to make water, and two large vessels were filled, and the seven² members were freed of the swelling. On the next day³ the Āzād Walī (the independent saint) Shaikh 'Abd-ur-Rahmān *darīsh* wrote that *Murtadā* (the Chosen One, i.e., 'Alī) had announced that on this night he had given dust⁴ (from his tomb), and that cure from death would occur during the day."

(SAIYID) HAMID BOKHĀRĪ⁵

(Vol. II, pp 396-399)

year he was given ¹ the government of Dūlqa and Dandūqa. Afterwards he hurried to Cambay to help Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Muḥammad Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed ² to the government of Multān, and in the end of the same year he, in company with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Radavī, did good service in Balūchistān where the chiefs had revolted. In the 25th year when Mirzā Muḥammad Hakīm came from Kābul and besieged Lāhōre, the Saiyid and the other fief-holders were shut up there. After the arrival of the imperial army there when Prince Sultān Murād was appointed to pursue Muḥammad Hakīm, the Saiyid received the command of the left wing. When the royal army reached Kābul, and as Akbar proposed to halt there for some time, he sent ³ on the elephants to Jalālābād and appointed the Saiyid and some others for their escort. On the return from Kābul when they encamped at Sirhind, the Saiyid obtained leave to go to his fief. In the 30th year he was appointed to Kābul along with Kunwar Mān Singh. When he came to Peshāwar, which was in his fief, his soldiers returned to (his fief in) India, and he spent his time negligently with a few men in the fort of Bīkrām (near Peshāwar). He left ⁴ the affairs to a man named Mūsā, who was not very discreet. Without making sure of his character, he was appointed in charge of the government and the administration of justice, and he out of avarice oppressed the Mahmand and Ghūrī tribes, of whom there were 10,000 householders in Peshāwar, and injured their property and their honour. They, from folly and wickedness, made Jalālā' Tārīkī their leader and stirred up a rebellion near Bīkrām. Hamīd, on account of the smallness of his force, wanted to wait in the fort till the arrival of soldiers from Kābul and Atak (Attock), and of his brothers, but following the advice of shortsighted people he could not carry out this plan. He sent a man to ascertain full facts about the enemy. He, out of folly or wickedness, reported that they were few and disorganized. Without due reflection he came out with 150 men and lighted the flames of conflict. Though in the very beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not stay his hand. His horse fell into a hole ⁵ and he was killed in 993 (1585 A.D.). Forty of his relatives fell with him. He held the rank of 2,000. Afterwards the Afghāns surrounded the fort, but his young son, Saiyid Kamāl, bravely defended it with the help of a few men.

Kamāl held the rank of 700 in Akbar's time and on Jahāngīr's accession this was raised to 1,000. In succession to Saiyid 'Abdul Wahhāb Bokhārī he was made the governor of Delhī. Afterwards he went along with Farīd Bokhārī in pursuit of Khusrāu, and was in command of the left wing in the battle against him. When the Bārāh Saiyids, who were in the van, were hard pressed, Kamāl came to their help and distinguished himself. Saiyid Ya'qūb, son of Saiyid Kamāl, attained

¹ Vide Beveridge, *op cit*, p. 46

² Vide Beveridge, *op cit*, pp. 300, 335

³ See Beveridge, *op cit*, p. 539

⁴ See Beveridge, *op cit*, p. 777. The text has Ghariyā instead of Ghcrī as the name of the tribe

⁵ The *Albarnāma*, Text III, p. 510, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 778, has *jū*, a canal or stream, but there is the variant *gav*, a hole. The date 993 is wrong. The *Albarnāma*, III, puts it into the 31st year, 994, and so does Badāyūnī, Lowe's translation of *Muntalhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 366. In the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, De's translation II, p. 619, it is included in the account of the 32nd year, 995.

the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and died in the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign

(MU'IZZ-UD-DAULAH) HĀMID KHĀN BAHĀDUR ṢALĀBAT JANG
(Vol III, pp 765-769)

He was a half-brother of Khān Firūz Jang. In his father's lifetime he became known to Aurangzib, and obtained a suitable appointment. In the 29th year of the reign he received the title of Khān and the gift of a female elephant, and was ordered¹ to convey treasure to Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh who had been appointed to besiege Bijāpūr. At the end of the reign he held the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse.

After Aurangzib's death he accompanied Ā'zam Shāh to Upper India, and in the battle with Bahādur Shāh had the command of the reserve of the left wing. After Ā'zam Shāh was killed, he entered the service of Bahādur Shāh, and, in the 3rd year of the reign, was made governor of Bijāpūr. After his dismissal from the post he came to the Court. In the beginning Muḥammad Shāh's reign, when Nizām-ul-Mulk went from Mālwa to the Deccan and encountered the creatures of the Sayyids, Mu'izz-ud-Daulah who had gone to Delhi with Sayid 'Abdullāh Qutb-ul-Mulk was deprived of his fief and retired into private life. When Hasan 'Alī, the Amīr-ul-Umarā, was killed, Qutb-ul-Mulk summoned a prince from among those imprisoned in Salimgarh and set about consolidating his party. He conciliated Mu'izz-ud-Daulah by restoring his fief to him. He also gave him a sum of money and took him with him. When Qutb-ul-Mulk was made prisoner, I'timād-ud-Daulah Amīn Khān Bahādur placed Mu'izz-ud-Daulah on his own elephant and brought him to the King. Afterwards when the government of Gujarāt was transferred from Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Haidar Qulī² to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, he (Mu'izz-ud-Daulah) was made his deputy, and received the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ṣalābat Jang. This was reported (by Āsaf Jāh) to the Emperor.

When in 1136 (1723-24 A.D.) the government of Gujarāt was taken from Āsaf Jāh and given to Sarbuland Khān, Shujā'at Khān and Rustam 'Alī, the sons of Muḥammad Kāzīm Jannā' dār—who had formerly been a servant of Shujā'at Khān Muḥammad Bīg and whose sons on account of their ability had received royal appointments and the title of Khān through the influence of Haidar Qulī Khān—were made the deputies of Sarbuland Khān in Gujarāt and Sūrat. Both of them were killed in the fight with Mu'izz-ud-Daulah. At last Sarbuland Khān came himself and the Bakhshī³ of Hamīd Khān was killed. Thereafter Hamīd Khān was summoned by Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh (his nephew) to the Deccan and was made the governor of Nāndūr⁴. After some time he died in 1140 (1727-28 A.D.) at Gulbarga during the time when Āsaf Jāh was engaged in the Karnātak. He was buried in the cemetery of Shāh Bādī.

¹ Maāthir i Alamgiri p. 261.

² See Haidar Qulī Khān's account, *op. cit.* p. 692.

³ The editors have furnished some notes to this biography. In one of them on the authority of the *Tārīkh-i Muẓaffarī* that the Bakhshī's name was Amān Bēg. For full details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Truce & Truce* *Muzaffar*, pp. II, 176-180.

⁴ Nāndūr district in Hyderabad. *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 349.

Nawāz—May his grave be holy¹—outside the dome. He was possessed of good qualities, and was magnanimous, soldier-like and high spirited. In speech he was audacious. His sons, who distinguished themselves were Khair Ullāh Khān, Hafiz Ullāh Khān and Marhamat Khān. Each of them on account of their near connection with Āṣaf Jāh had suitable fiefs and also an allowance in cash for expenses. Generally they were notorious for their wicked modes of living. They were excused service, and spent their days at home. Each of them had descendants who subsisted on remnants of their fiefs. The sons of Marhamat Khān, who himself was well known for his simplicity, acquired culture. The elder received the title of Fathiyāb Jang, and the younger that of Zafaryāb Jang and had a fief in the pargana of Mālkanda¹ the writer was acquainted with them.

HAMID-UD-DIN KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol I, pp 605-611)

He was an officer of Aurangzib's time and was the son of Sardār² Khān Kōtwāl and grandson of Bāqī Khān Chēlā Qalmāk of Shāh Jahān's time. By the help of good fortune and the influence of his stars he, in the end of Aurangzib's reign, became the centre of the affairs of India, and had the power of binding and loosing in all matters of high politics. While thus the arrow at the top of the quiver of the reigning Sovereign, he was appointed sometimes to the batteries raised against forts, and sometimes to camps and distant places for the punishment of bandits, and, wherever he went, he by his rapidity and vigour smote and subdued the enemy and then returned safe and sound and rich with plunder, and his rank was raised with commendations. Hence it was that he was known as *Nīmcha-i-Ālamgīrī* or 'Ālamgīr's Sword'. In the beginning of his career when his father was an object of royal favours, he too became known and acquired reputation. In the 28th year of the reign, he, in succession to his father, became the Superintendent of the engraving³ department. At that time, when his father's title was changed from Ihtimām Khān to Sardār Khān, he got an increase of 200 and obtained the rank of 400 with 50 horse. In the 32nd year he became, in succession to his father, Superintendent of the elephant-stables, and as he had become a *persona grata*, his rank was gradually increased. When he received the order in Iklūj⁴ to bring the wretched Sambhā who had been seized, along with his wife and child, by the excellent efforts of Khān Zamān Haidarābādī, he, in accordance with the royal order, put a wooden cap (*taḥṭa-kulāh*) on Sambhā two *kos* from Bahādurgarh (or Bīrgāūn),

¹ The variant Bālkonda in Warangal division, Haidarābād, is the correct reading.

² Also called Ihtimām Khān, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p 252. In *Khāfi Khān*, II, p 381, he is called Sarbarāh Khān.

³ *Dārōzha-i-Ḥātīmband Ḥāna*. See *Bahār 'Ajam* and *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* p 252.

⁴ *اِکْلُج* Iklūch in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p 319, and Iklūj in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p 383. South of the river Nīrā, about half way between Bijāpūr and Punna, vide Elliot, VII, p 340. *Khāfi Khān*, II, p 387, says the *taḥṭa-kulāh* was a Persian custom. For Shambhūj's capture, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp 399-407.

which was the camp, and dressed up his followers in fantastic garments, and placed them on camels, and pilloried them throughout the camp with drums beating and trumpets blowing, and then brought them into the Presence. In the 33rd year he received the title of Khān. When his father died, he, in succession to him, became the Kōtwāl and was also given other offices. At this time he received the present of a *jighā'* (a jewelled ornament for the turban) and an elephant, and was repeatedly sent to chastise the enemy. In the 37th year it happened that some of the servants of (Prince) Mu'izz-ud-Dīn¹ behaved improperly to Faḍl 'Alī, the Divān of his establishment, and their improprieties ended in a fight. An order was given that Hamīd-ud-Dīn Khān should go and punish them. When the Khān went against them, his elephant got alarmed at the uproar and carried him off to the distance of a *los* from the battlefield towards the imperial granaries. He chanced to see some large sacks which they fill with corn at the granary, and, as his elephant was passing, he jumped out of the howdah and alighted on them. He then got another elephant and returned to the field of battle and punished the rioters. In the 39th year he, at Islāmpūrī, was raised to the rank of 2,000. In the same year Santā routed Qāsim Khān, Khānazād Khān and other officers and besieged them in the fort of Dhandērī. Hamīd-ud-Dīn was sent with a large force to relieve them. Near Adonī he met the defeated officers and gave them proper help. Meanwhile Santā had defeated Himmat Khān² and gone on with his evil ways. The Khān (Hamīd-ud-Dīn) pursued him and drove him out of the imperial territories. When he came to the Court, he was honoured and rewarded and received the title of Bahādur. In the 42nd year, he was appointed to an office near the Emperor, being made the Superintendent of the *Ghusal-khāna*. Afterwards, he was also made Superintendent of the jewel room. In the 43rd year, on the death of Ikhlās Khān, who fell a martyr in a battle with the enemy, he was made Master of the Horse, and received an adorned belt³ and a cushion from the Emperor. During this time he was sent on several occasions to bring provisions and to harry the seditious, he performed his duties to the Emperor's satisfaction. Though in all his takings of fortresses he did good service and was a zealous servant, but he especially distinguished himself in the capture of Rājgarh where (Shivājī) after taking it from the 'Adul Shāhīs had, in the day of his occupation, made three forts on the three sides (of the hill). Together with Tarbiyat Khān Mīr Ātish, he came out on the ridge opposite the triangle (?) of the fort which experts call *Sūnda*⁴ and prepared the equipment for the battle. A battery was made on the top of the hill and was extended to the *sang-i-chīn* (heap of stones). Though the besieged did not fail to

¹ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 367. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was the name of Jahāndār Shāh, a grandson of Aurangzib.

² According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 379, Himmat Khān was shot in the moment of victory. Also Khāfi Khān, II, p. 434.

³ In place of *Kamar u muttakā*, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 423, has *Khil'at-i-lhāṣa bā lamar muttalā*.

⁴ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 479. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 513, makes the first capture as or 15 Shawwāl and the final surrender twelve days later. The event is put into the year 1114 (February 1703), see Elliot, VII, p. 373. The fort was afterwards called Banī Shāhgarh. The word is probably *sūndh*—an elephant's trunk. It was a spur or ridge extending out from the plateau of the hill. The description, which is not very intelligible, is condensed from p. 479 of the *Maāthir*.

discharge muskets and to throw rockets and stones yet the gallant men came out on the top of the tower—which had been built on the point of the said *Sūnda*, and arrived within the wall. When the garrison beheld such boldness, they lost courage and asked for quarter. On 21st Shawwāl, in the beginning of the 48th year, 1115 A H (27th February, 1704 A D), the four forts received the name of Banī Shāhgarī. Hamīd-ud-Dīn, who had attained the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, received, as a reward for his exertions, the gift of drums. He also distinguished himself in the taking of Tōrnā¹. He bound the rope round his waist and entered the fort.

In fine Hamīd-ud-Dīn was greatly distinguished at the close of Aurangzib's reign and was second to none in influence and intimacy. Though Amīr Khān was not wanting in all these respects, he was still inferior to Hamīd-ud-Dīn. 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was equal to him in administrative matters, but he had not so long been attached to the Court.

Aurangzib died² in his quarters (*dar fāna*) at Ahmadnagar in the first watch of Friday 28 Dhul Qa'da, 1118 (A H) after a reign of 50 years, 2 months and 28 days, at the age of 91 years and 13 days. After the body was laid out, and prayers had been offered, it was watched in the bed-chamber (*Khurābgāh*). Next day on hearing of the event Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, who had been sent off to Mālwa, returned from his camp twenty-five *kos* distant, and performed the mourning ceremonies. On the following day he took the body on his shoulder to the outside of the *Ditān-i-Adālat* (Hall of Justice), and it was then conveyed to the blessed shrine known as the *Rauda*, which is a cultivated place eight *kos* distant from Aurangābād, and three *kos* from Daulatābād. Hamīd-ud-Dīn neglected³ no point of ceremonial etiquette or lamentation, and went with the corpse on foot and pulling out his hairs. In accordance with his will Aurangzib was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Zam-ud-Dīn. May the mercy of God be upon him!

The date of Aurangzib's death was found in the noble verse⁴ *Rūh u Raihān u Jannat Na'im*—Rest, Fragrance and the Paradise of Delights (1118).

His title became Khuld Makān "Dwelling in everlasting bliss", and the village was called Khuldābād. The Khān put on a darvish's dress, and swept the tomb of his benefactor and teacher. He built a residence for himself there, which is still known by his name. When Muḥammad A'zam Shāh came to Aurangābād from Ahmadnagar he went to his father's tomb and said prayers. He took the hand of Hamīd-ud-Dīn and brought him with him, and spoke soothingly to him and confirmed him in his office. In the march to Upper India, which

¹ In the text Pūrnā, but the variant Tōrnā is correct. Tōrnā was taken in the 48th year, 1115 (20th March, 1704). For a detailed account of Aurangzib's campaign for the capture of Maratha forts, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 159-192.

² Aurangzib was born at Dōhad on the borders of Mālwa on 24th October, 1618 and died on 3rd March, 1707. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 18, 19, and his edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 1.

The expression *dar fāna* may mean that he died in the courtyard.

³ Vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 566.

⁴ Sūrah 56, verse 88. "His reward shall be rest and mercy and a garden of delights" (Sale).

was necessary for the making of war upon Bahādur Shāh, he took Hamīd-ud-Dīn with him. They say, that when on the march news came that Muhammad 'Azīm had come to Āgra from the Eastern Provinces, Muhammad A'zam Shāh said "A great evil (*Balā-i-'azīm*) has reached Āgra", and that the Khān Bahādur replied "It will be removed by the blessing of the Great Name" (*Ism A'zam*, also punning on the name). On the day of battle after much contest signs of defeat manifested themselves. When Dhūlfāqār Khān had retired from the battlefield, Hamīd-ud-Dīn also withdrew. He also at that time was wounded by an arrow. He afterwards came from Gwāliyār, and his cheek resumed its pristine hue when he was graciously received by Bahādur Shāh. He received a gilded staff and was made 1st *Mīr Tuzul* and Superintendent of the mace-bearers. He received the title of Bahādur 'Ālamgīrī, and passed his days with honour till the end of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

When the juggling heavens gave Jahāndār Shāh the rule and the dice of Dhūlfāqār Khān threw sixes, he practised the rancour which had long existed, but had not manifested itself so far, he tormented Hamīd-ud-Dīn and imprisoned him and put him in chains¹. At length Dhūlfāqār Khān got the reward of his deeds, but though the fall of that tyrant released Hamīd-ud-Dīn from confinement, he had no place in the Court of Farrukh-siyar. Out of regard for his former influence or due to respect for the old ties, Saif-ud-Daula 'Abd-us-Samad Khān, who had been made governor of the Panjāb, took him with him. When after the extirpation of a noted sect (the Sikhs), the said governor returned in glory to Lāhore, the writer² of these lines witnessed the spectacle. Hamīd-ud-Dīn brought up the rear of the equipage. He was in a palanquin and had few followers, and it was plain that he was dejected at having suffered at the hands of fate. After that, he came to the Presence and was received with royal favour so that he renewed his feathers. In the time of the present ruler (Muhammad Shāh) by virtue of the same (old) intimacy with Aurangzib he again received the high rank of Superintendent of mace-bearers. *The water which had gone away returned to its channel.* This lasted for a long time until he died at his appointed period. He had a son who held an office, and had means (*dastgāh*). But his biography is unknown³.

HAQIQAT KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 590, 591)

He was Ishāq Bēg of Yazd. At first he was the major-domo (*Khān-i-Sāmān*) in the establishment of Mumtāz-uz-Zamān (Shāh Jahān's queen). In the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when that chaste lady

¹ See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, p 187. Dhūlfāqār Khān's murder is described on p 253.

² For details of the Sikh campaign and capture of the leader Gurū Banda at Gurdāspūr, Panjāb, see Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp 307-315. The author of the *Maāthir ul Umarā* was then a boy of 15, and soon left Lāhore for the Deccan.

³ In the table of contents the biography of Hamīd ud Dīn is entered as having been written by 'Abd-ul Hayy, it being marked Q. But the writer here referred to could not have been 'Abd ul Hayy, for he was not born till 1142, and probably never was in Lāhore. The life must then be by his father who was born in 1111 A.H. (1700 A.D.)

went from the transitory to the enduring world, the King appointed him—as he was a good housekeeper—to the service of the Bēgam Sālūba. In the 9th year he was appointed,¹ along with Makaramat Khān and Bāqī Khān Chēlā to Datyā² to search for the hidden treasures of the rebel Jujhār Singh who had been killed. By their excellent investigations they brought out from wells in that neighbourhood twenty-eight lacs of rupees and paid them into the royal treasury. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 12th year he received³ the title of Haqīqat Khān and was appointed Examiner of petitions in succession to 'Aql Khān 'Ināyat Ullāh. In the 13th year he had⁴ an increase of 150 horse and had⁵ the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse. After that, he got⁶ an increase of 500 and his rank was 2,000 with 300 horse, as appears in the last list of the *Bādshāhnāma*. In the 28th year, as he had attained to a great age, the King relieved him of his employment, and allowed him to repose in retirement. He died in retirement in the 7th year of Aurangzib's reign in the year 1074 A H (1663-64 A D)

(IKRĀM KHĀN, SAIYID) HASAN

(Vol I, pp 215, 216)

One of the Wālā-Shāhīs (household troopers or bodyguards) of Aurangzib. For a long while he was *faujdār* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh which Shāh Jahān had given to Aurangzib when he was a prince. Afterwards when Aurangzib for making inquiries about his father's illness moved from Burhānpūr to Mālwa, Ikrām Khān, in accordance with orders, joined him and was graciously received. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh, which occurred near Sāmūgarh, he distinguished himself and did good service. In the first year of the reign, he received the title of Ikrām Khān. In the battle⁷ with Shujā', when Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who had charge of the right wing, played the game of deceit and at night took the road to his home, and Islām Khān was appointed in his place, he along with Saif Khān was in the vanguard and stood firm and behaved courageously. When the King had proceeded towards Ajmēr to engage Dārā Shikōh, Ikrām Khān was appointed governor of the Capital in succession to Ra'adandāz Khān. Later, on being relieved of that charge, he became *faujdār* of Āgra in succession to Saiyid Sālār Khān. In the 5th year of the reign, corresponding to 1072 A H (1661-62 A D) he closed his eyes, and ceased to behold the rose garden of existence.

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 121, where he is called Ishāq Bēg

² لڙي in the text is a misprint for لڙي

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 142

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 198, has the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse

⁵ *Loc cit*, p 336, has the rank of 1,500 with 250 horse

⁶ *Loc cit*, p 627

⁷ Battle of Khajwa (Khajuhā in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 227) on 14th January, 1659. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp 486-495

(MUQARRAB¹ KHĀN, SHAIKH) HASAN, KNOWN AS HASSŪ

(Vol III, pp 379-382)

(He was) the son of Shaikh Phaniyā, son of Shaikh Hasan of Pānīpat. It is well known that, in the service of Akbar, he (the father) as a physician and especially as a surgeon was without a rival. He was very skilful in treating elephants and acquired much celebrity for it. Muqarrab Khān also had no equals or rivals in this science, he used to take part with his father in the work and assist in the treatments. In the 41st year, 1004 A H, a buck, in the course of a deer-fight, ran towards Akbar, gored him with its horns, and inflicted a wound on his testicles. They swelled up, and for seven days he did not go to the privy. There was a great commotion in the country. Though the case was in the hands of Hakims Miṣri and 'Alī Bāz, but the father and the son in putting on and taking off plasters and bandaging did good service. Shaikh Hassū, from his early years, was brought up in the service of Jahāngir and did excellent service. Accordingly Jahāngir used to say² that few kings possessed a servant like Hassū. While Jahāngir was a prince, Hassū, though he (the Prince) pressed him, took nothing from his establishment. Afterwards when the Prince became the King, the first person who got an office was Hassū. After his accession Jahāngir gave him the title of Muqarrab Khān and the rank of 5,000. During his reign the King was careless, and did not exercise much judgment and discretion in the appointment of officers. Inasmuch as Muqarrab Khān was a connoisseur of jewellery, he (the King) gave him the important province of Gujarāt, which has ports such as Sūrat and Cambay, each of which is a mine of rarities and a centre of wealth. He could not manage the province or the soldiery, and so he was recalled and the province was given in fief to Shāh Jahān. In the 13th year, 1027 A H, he was appointed governor of Bihār, but, in the 16th year that province was transferred to Sultān Parvīz. Muqarrab Khān returned to the Court, and was made governor of the province of Āgra. After that he was made the 2nd Bakhshī, and became more and more intimate with Jahāngir. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign, he, on account of old age, was excused service, and allowed to retire to the town of Kairāna, which was his native place and had been in his fief, so that he may enjoy his old age in peace and plenty. They say that time dealt with him kindly and he never received a blow from Fortune. After retirement he spent his days in perfect pleasure and freedom from care with 1,000 beautiful women friends (*sahēlīs*), who were also in charge of his workshops. They say, there was not another rich man in those days who had so much virility, and who, free of cares, could devote so much time to enjoyment. As he was the custodian of the shrine of Shāh Sharaf³ of Pānīpat, he made his tomb there. He died in his native place in the 19th year⁴.

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 613. For an account of the deer-fight, see *Albarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation, pp 1061, 1062, the name in that work is wrongly given as Hansū.

² Price's translation of Jahāngir's *Memoirs*, p 37.

³ Abū 'Alī Qalandar died at Pānīpat, 1324 A.D. (*vide* Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881 edn, p 11). See also Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, III, p 368.

⁴ He died in 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.), *vide* *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 613.

Kairāna¹ is a pargana of Sahāranpūr in the province of Delhi. It has a good climate and fertile soil. He erected fine buildings there, and he made a *puccā* wall round a garden, 140 *bighas* in extent. There was in it a tank 220 cubits long by 200 broad. He planted both hot and cold weather trees. They say that pistachio trees flourished there, and wherever he heard of good mango trees, whether in Gujarāt or in the Deccan, he brought the seed and planted it. Accordingly the mangoes of Kairāna are celebrated in Delhi above all others up to the present day. Rīzq Ullāh,² his son, attained the rank of 800 in Shāh Jahān's reign. He was a skilful physician and surgeon. In Aurangzib's reign he was granted the title of Khān and an increase of rank. He died in the 10th year Masīhā-i-Kairānavī, whose (real) name was Sa'd Ullāh, was Muqarrab Khān's adopted son, and was known as a poet. From his poem on Sītā, the wife of Rāja Rām Chandra, here are three verses

Verses

When water was sprinkled on the head of that intoxicated person,
Water also escaped from his hands
When she steps out of the water after a bath,
A fiery tree appears out of the water
The Indian saying has been confirmed
That without doubt the moon has come out of the edifice

HASAN 'ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol I, pp 593-599)

He belonged to Aurangzib's time and was the eldest son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khān³. As his countenance resembled that of a lion (*shēr-babār*), in its strength and majesty, he was styled in his childhood Mirzā Bāgh. He was distinguished for the strength of his hands and arms and was eminent among his brothers for his noble qualities. He with his approval always accompanied his father. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shujā' behaved in an unseemly manner, Ilāhvardī Khān with his sons, willingly or unwillingly, took his side, and there was a battle at Bahādurpūr-Benāres⁴, between Shujā' and Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, who had been sent from the Court with many of the royal troops to encounter him. Shujā' was defeated and went to Bengāl, and Hasan 'Alī separated from his father and joined the royal army. After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh and when the storm of dispersion scattered Sulaimān Shikōh's forces, and every one of the royal officers and of his servants left his companionship and chose their own course, Hasan 'Alī obtained access to Aurangzib through Rāja

¹ In the Muzaffarnagar District. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 286

² Rieu, *Catalogue*, p 1078b. Allāh Diyāh, the nephew of Muqarrab Khān, was the author of *Siyar-ul-Aqīb*, vide Rieu, *op cit*, p 358b

³ See *Madāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp 207-215. Another Ilāhvardī Khān (*id*, pp 229-232) is described as the second son of the famous Ilāhvardī Khān on p 229, but on p 231, Husam 'Alī, whose biography is given above, is described as his uncle. Apparently there is some mistake in this account.

⁴ 24th February, 1658, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 222

Jai Singh, and by the increase of 500 and the augmentation of his troopers attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was the recipient of glances of favour. In the same year on the occasion of Aurangzib turning his attention to the battle of Khajwa¹, he received an increase of 500 and the appointment of *Qūshbēgī* (falconer). After the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, when the Capital was illuminated by the arrival of the Emperor, Hasan 'Alī, in addition to holding the office of *Qūshbēgī* was made *faujdar* of the territory of Shāhjahānābād in succession to Kīrat Singh. As the office of *Qūshbēgī* necessitated constant attendance on the royal stirrups, Hasan 'Alī was always with the King both in journeys and at Court and was a *persona grata*. In the 9th year, he was made Superintendent of the servants of the *jilau*². When in the end of the 12th year the King left the Capital, Hasan 'Alī was made *faujdar* of Mathurā, in succession to Saf Shikan Khān, and had the rank of 3,500 with 2,500 horse, and was sent off with a force to chastise the turbulent elements in that neighbourhood. He showed great energy and courage in seizing and slaying the recalcitrants and in plundering their habitations and destroying their forts, etc. He assigned their estates to his companions and others. He arrested the robber Kōklā Jāt—who was responsible for the killing of 'Abd-un-Nabī Khān faujdar (of Mathurā)—and for the ravaging of the pargana of Shādābād³, along with his companion, the rebel Sanki, and sent them to the Court. The royal wrath ordered and both, in retribution for their crimes, were cut to pieces limb by limb. The son⁴ and daughter of Kōklā were made over, for their upbringing, to Jawāhur Khān Nāzir. The daughter was later given in marriage to Shāh Qulī Chēla, a well-known officer, and the son got the name of Fādil and became a *Hāfiz*. In Aurangzib's opinion no other *Hāfiz* was so reliable, and the King, who, since his accession, had taken to reciting the Qur'ān, used to honour him by hearing his recitations.

The Khān in reward for his good services received the gift of drums, and afterwards was appointed governor of the province of Allahābād. In the 20th year he was appointed governor of Āgra, but in the 21st year, he was removed from that appointment and returned to the Court. In the 22nd year, when the royal standards were directed for the first time towards Ajmēr, the Khān was appointed along with Khān Jahān Bahādur to subdue the country of Jōdhpūr and other territories of the deceased Rāja Jaswant. When in the 23rd year the royal army proceeded from Ajmēr towards Udaipūr for purposes of castigation, a large and richly and properly equipped army was sent under the leadership of Hasan 'Alī to punish the Rānā. In this campaign he did excellent service and one day while crossing a ravine fell upon the Rānā. The latter could not withstand the attack and went away leaving his tents and goods. The Khān destroyed the idol-temple in front of the Rānā's palace and also 172 other temples in Udaipūr, and obtained the title of Bahādur 'Ālamgīrshāhī. Afterwards, when the royal standards proceeded to

¹ 14th January, 1659, *id.*, p. 224. The name is spelt there as Khajuhā.

² According to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 150, note 2, "The *jilau* is the superintendent of horses selected for presents."

³ In the text Shādābād, but Sa'dābād in *Maāthir*: 'Ālamgīrī, p. 93.

⁴ This account is also included under Churāman Jāt, *vide* Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p. 437.

the Deccan, Hasan 'Alī Khān was appointed to accompany Prince Muḥammad A'zam for the siege of Bijāpūr. As every day there was constant fighting in the batteries with exchanges of positions, and scarcity and dearth of provisions pressed heavily on the camp, an order was sent, in the 29th year, to the Prince, that as things were in this condition he should raise the siege and join the imperial army which was then at Shōlāpūr. The Prince took council¹ with the leading officers of experience. He first took the opinion of Hasan 'Alī, observing to him "The transacting of the affairs of the campaign rests upon the concord of the officers. An urgent order has come from the Court to the above effect. Your opinion in matters of peace or war, of rapid action or of endurance is valuable, as you have seen and heard and lived through many such scenes of stress and difficulty. What do you think in this affair?" The Khān replied "Considering the situation of the army, and the general good, it is advisable to raise the siege. When in the Balkh campaign Prince Murād Bakhsh, on account of the severity of the weather could not remain, he, willingly or unwillingly, withdrew from the siege without orders from Shāh Jahān, and returned to the Court. The state of the troops at present is apparent, and Your Highness has an order (to retire)." After this the others spoke and all agreed with Hasan 'Alī's opinion. The Prince said "You have spoken for yourselves, now hear my sentiments. I, Muḥammad A'zam, with my two sons and the Bēgam² will not move from this place of danger as long as we have life. Let the King come afterwards and bury us. My companions can choose for themselves about going or staying. The preservation of the realm and religion is what is looked to by men of honour, fate depends upon the heavens!" Nothing evil occurred, and by the fortunate circumstance of the Prince's steadfastness, Khān Fīrūz Jang arrived with a large army and abundant provisions, and hardship was changed into happiness (*'usr ba yasr tabdīl yāfī*). In the same year Hasan 'Alī was appointed governor³ of Berār on the death of Īrī Khān. As he was hotly engaged in the siege of Bijāpūr and was doing good service, Radī-ud-Dīn Khān (who was) Shaikh Radī-ud-Dīn, and belonged to a noble family of Bhāgalpūr in Bihār and who had charge of Hasan 'Alī's domestic affairs and of those of the imperial troops, was appointed to act as his deputy.

The Shaikh was a very learned man, and took an active part in editing the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*. He received three rupees a day as his pay. As he was also skilled in many sciences he helped in military affairs, in the collection of revenue, and as a companion, etc. Further, by the instrumentality of Qādī Muḥammad Husain of Jaunpūr, the Court *Muhtasib* (censor), his merits were brought to the notice of Aurangzīb and he received the rank of 100. Gradually through his auspicious star and his good qualities and the help of Hasan 'Alī he attained to the rank of an Amīr and Khān. He became *pēshkār* of Hasan 'Alī and did good service in extirpating the Jāts of Mathurā and in the affair of the Rānā⁴. In the

¹ *Maāthir i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 263. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp. 315-317, the name of Hasan 'Alī Khān is wrongly given as Alī Khān on p. 315.

² Jānī Bēgam the wife of Prince Muḥammad A'zam, *vide* Khāfī Khān, II, p. 317.

³ *Maāthir i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 262.

⁴ *Maāthir i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 187.

beginning of the 30th year, he was killed¹ during an altercation with the soldiery. The government of the above province (Berār), where the Shaikh (Radi-ud-Dīn) was acting as his deputy, was given to Muhammad Mā'mūn² the son-in-law of Irj Khān.

As the siege of Bijāpūr lasted a long time, the King became indignant and said 'What worldly advantage is there in the number of princes, they are nothing but a name. We hoped one of our sons would do something. This has not come about. Let us see why this wall does not crumble down.' He advanced from Shōlāpūr, and as deeds are pledged to fortune, he encamped on 21 Sha'bān, 1097 A.H. (13th July, 1686 A.D.), at Rasūlpūr, three *los* from Bijāpūr, and on 4 Dhul Qa'da (22nd September, 1686 A.D.) of that year Bijāpūr was taken³. Hasan 'Alī Khān Bahādūr, who was seriously ill, departed to the other world after one day. He carried off the ball of courage and military skill from his contemporaries. He was a model for benevolence and for right acting and speaking. His sons, Muhammad Muqīm and Khair Ullāh, did not attain any distinction.

HASAN⁴ BĒG BADAKHSHI SHAIRĀH 'UMARĪ

(Vol I, pp 565-568)

He was one of the old servants (*Bāburīyān*) of the dynasty, and possessed military talents. When in the 34th year, Akbar, after visiting Kashmīr, proceeded to Kābul by way of Pakhlī—which is a country 35 *los* long and 25 broad, and lies to the west of Kashmīr—Sultān Husām Khān, the ruler of Pakhlī—who belonged to the tribe of Qārīngh (Qārlyghs), some of whom had been left to guard this country by Timūr when he was returning to Tūrān—did homage, and after a few days absconded. Akbar⁵ gave the country in fief to Hasan Bēg, and sent him to punish the chief. He behaved with courage and skill and brought the country into subjection. When in the 35th year, he came to the Court, the Pakhlī chief again raised his head and created a disturbance. He foolishly took the name of Sultān Nasir-ud-Dīn, and recovered possession of Pakhlī from Hasan Bēg's men. Hasan Bēg was again sent with a force, and inflicted suitable punishment on him. In the 46th year, he did good service in Bangash and was promoted to the rank of 2,500. In the end of Akbar's reign, he obtained Rohtās (in the Panjāb) in fief, and was directed to guard Kābul. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, he was summoned to the Capital, and was met at Mathurā by Sultān Khusrāw, who, on the night of Sunday, 20th⁶ Dhul Hijja 1014 A.H., had escaped from the fort at Āgra. Hasan Bēg was not sure about Jahāngīr and

¹ 2 Maāthir i 'Alamgiri p. 278

² See Sir Jadunath Sarkar *op cit.*, pp 319-325, for further details of the fall of Bijāpūr.

³ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp 501-505.

⁴ *Alfarnūma* Text, III, p 565. Blochmann's translation III, p. 875.

⁵ 8th as a variant in some MSS is given by the editors. This corresponds to the date in the *Fuzul-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers and Blochmann's edn.) I, p. 52, and in view of Blochmann's note 3 p. 504 and Khāfi Khān, I, p. 276, 8th appears to be the correct date, thus would be 6th April, 1606, and not 6th April, 1605, as given by Rogers and Blochmann. Blochmann, *History of Jahāngir*, p. 149, (1929), gives 6th April 1606.

suspected that there was something unfavourable about these summons. Also as turbulence and plotting are innate with BadaḲhshīs, he was carried away by the inducements and flatteries of Sultān Khusrān, and agreed to accompany him. Together with 300 active BadaḲhshīs he joined him in the path of error. Khusrān addressed him as Khān Bābā (the Khān father) and made him the centre of his power.

When Khusrān opposed the royal forces on the bank of the Biyāh (Beās) with the troops he had collected, and after a little fighting was defeated, and with Hasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm—the *Dīnān* of Lāhōre who had joined him and obtained the title of Malik Anwar¹—became a wanderer in the desert of disappointment. Most of the Afghāns who had assisted him urged him to proceed to the Eastern districts. Hasan Bēg said: "This proposal is wrong, you should go towards Kābul, for in that country there is no lack of men or horses. Whoever has Kābul, will have every kind of servant and equipment. Bābur and Humāyūn, though they had no money, conquered India with the help of Kābul. I have four lakhs of rupees in Rohitās and will give these as a contribution, and as soon as we arrive there I will supply 12,000 capable horsemen. If the King follows us, we shall give battle, and if he gives up that country to us we shall arrange for sometime with our fortune and wait for the opportunity." As Khusrān, in ignorance of the consequences, had placed the reins of affairs into his hands, he agreed and was arrested by the laws of retribution on the bank of the Chenāb. At that time Jahāngīr was encamped in Mirzā Kāmran's garden in the suburbs of Lāhōre. On the 3rd Šafar 1015² Khusrān was brought according to the custom of Chengīz with tied arms and fetters on his feet into the royal Presence. Hasan Bēg and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm were placed on his right and left, and Khusrān stood between them trembling and weeping. Hasan Bēg, thinking that it would help him, began to talk wildly and foolishly. As his object became apparent he was not allowed to continue, and the order was issued that Khusrān should be kept chained and imprisoned, Hasan Bēg be put into the skin of an ox, and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm in that of an ass, and they be paraded (through the streets) seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tails³. As the skin of the ox dried (and shrank) sooner than that of the ass, Hasan did not survive more than four watches (12 hours). The other, after a night and a day (i.e., eight watches), and as he was still alive, was, at the entreaties of those who had the right of audience, liberated from the wrath of the Sovereign—which is a sample of the wrath of God. For the sake of warning and punishment, two rows of stakes were set up from the gate of the Kāmīn garden to the gate of the citadel. And all who had joined Khusrān were impaled there. Next day when the King entered Lāhōre, he ordered

¹ The title is given as *Malik ul-Fuzrā* in *Iqbāl-nāma i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 10 and *Muntaḥhab ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 251. It is Melek Anwar in Price's *Memoirs*, p. 81. See also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 141, where the title is given as Anwar Khan, and it is stated that he "was made the *vazīr*."

² In the *Tūzūk i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge), I, p. 68, the date is given as 3rd Muharram, but it is 3rd Šafar in *Iqbāl-nāma*, p. 16. In *Muntaḥhab ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 253, it is stated that towards the end of Muharram, Amīr ul-Umarā was sent to bring the captives to the royal Presence, and so 3rd Šafar appears to be correct.

³ See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzūk i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 69, and note 1, for further details. Also Beni Prasad, *loc cit.*, p. 147.

that Khusrau should be placed on an elephant, and be led between the stakes, and that the cry should be raised on both sides "Your associates and servants do homage to you" May heaven preserve me from such an end! The son of Hasan Bēg, by name Isfandyār Khān, obtained in Shāh Jahān's time the rank of 1,500, he died in the 16th year of the latter's reign

(MIRZĀ) HASAN ŞAFĀVĪ

(Vol III, pp 477-479)

He was the third son of Rustam of Qandahār In Jahāngīr's time he attained to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse After Shāh Jahān's accession he came with his father from Bihār and did homage¹ In the 2nd year, he was appointed to Bengāl² and served for a long time, along with his son, Saf Shikan, among the auxiliaries of that province On being summoned to the Court, he offered his allegiance to the august conqueror, and later on return carried on his duties satisfactorily, and as a result of the trust in his fidelity his rank was exalted In the 19th year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was granted the fief of Fathpūr In the 20th year he became *faujdar* of Jaunpūr in succession to Shāh Nawāz Khān Safāvī, his younger brother Along with his son, Saf Shikan, he received a drum and his rank rose to 2,000 with 2,000 horse In the 21st year he came from Jaunpūr with his son and did homage, and again they went to Bengāl In the 22nd year, he was, at Shāh Shujā's request, appointed to Kūj (Cooch Bihār), and received an increase of 1,000 horse In the 23rd year, and end of 1059 A H (1649 A D) he died He did not accept the title of Khān Mirzā Saf Shikan, after his father's death, served as the *thānadār* and *faujdar* of Jessore³ in Bengāl After that, he retired and was for a long while one of the pensioned supplicants for the welfare of the reigning King He died in 1073 A H (1662 A D), the 5th year of Aurangzib's reign He was married to the daughter of Mir Mirān Yazdi, the sister of Nawāzish Khān 'Abdul-Kāfī, who was half-brother of Khalil Ullāh Khān His heir was Saif-ud-Dīn Şafāvī, who, on account of his being the son-in-law of Khalil Ullāh Khān, was an object of royal favour and received the title of Kāmyāb Khān⁴ in the 7th year For some reason he was removed from his rank In the 14th year he was restored

HĀSHIM KHĀN

(Vol III, pp 940, 941)

He was the son of Qāsim Khān *Mir Bahr* (admiral) When his father was killed,⁵ in Kābul, in the 39th year of Akbar's reign, and the

¹ He had the same rank of 1,500 with 700 horse in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 184

² In the first year he seems to have been attached to Bihār, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 205 He went to Bengāl in the 2nd year

³ Hasar in the text is apparently a mistake of the copyist for Jessore

⁴ *Vide Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, p 113 In the 20th year he was made *faujdar* of Sahāranpūr, *op cit*, p 158, in the 26th year he was made *Bakhshi* of the Deccan, *op cit*, p 223, and in the 49th year he was the governor of the fort of Gulbarga, *op cit*, p 503

⁵ *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 652, and Beveridge's translation III, p 1001

government of that province was assigned to Qulij Khān, he came to the Court and was favourably received. In the 41st year, he was sent along with Mirzā Rustam of Qandahār to punish Rāja Bāsū and other landholders of the Northern hills. He distinguished himself at the taking of Mau and afterwards came to the Court. In the 44th year he was sent with Shaikh Farid Bakhshī to take Asir. After that he was sent, with Sa'adat Khān who held the forts of Kālāna and Trimbak on behalf of the rulers of the Deccan, and had the good fortune of presenting himself at the sublime Court at Nāsik. After taking the fort of Trimbak, he came to the Court, in the 46th year, and performed the *lōrnish*. In the 47th year he held the rank of 1,500. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. He also received the present of a horse. In the 2nd year, his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was made the governor of Orissa. In the 5th year, he was appointed, while absent from the Court as the governor¹ of Kashmir. Khwājagī Muḥammad Husain his uncle, was sent off there so that he might take charge of the country till Hāshim Khān's arrival. In the end of the same year he came to the Court and was sent² off to Kashmir. His son is Muḥammad Qāsim Khān³. Mir Ātish Shāh Jahānī, of whom an account has been given separately.

HAYĀT KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 583, 584)

He was the Superintendent of the still-room (*Ābdār-khāna*) and head of the domestic servants (*khidmatgārān*) of Shāh Jahān. He was much trusted and made an intimate, and continually admitted to the Presence. For a long time he was the Superintendent of the palace (*Daulat-khāna*)—an office which was only given to reliable men, and also Superintendent of the *chēlās* (slaves) and of the *pagos* (*khwāṣṣān*). Probably he is the same Hayāt Khān⁴ who was Superintendent of the still-room in the time of Jahāngīr, and who, on the day of the tiger-hunt when Anī Rāi Singhdalan displayed great valour and Prince Shāh Jahān helped him and struck the tiger with his sword, was also in attendance on the King's stirrups. In the 6th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he obtained the rank of 800 with 200 horse, and in the 15th of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and in the 19th, an increase of 500 with 200 horse and so attained the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse. Afterwards he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and of *Ahādī*⁵ officers. In the 20th year, he had an increase

¹ *Qhā'ibāna* meaning that the appointment was conferred on him while he was away in Orissa.

² It is curious that neither the *Maāthir* nor Blochmann makes any mention of Hāshim's disastrous campaign in Tibet. It is also not mentioned in the *Tūzūk*, but see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 281 and Khāfi Khān I, p 547.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp 95–99.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 493. Jahāngīr was hunting with *chētās* in pargana Bārī. It was Anūp who thrust his hand into the tiger's mouth. Jahāngīr gave him the title of Anī Rāi Singhdalan (the lion-cleaver), *loc cit*, p 495. There is the variant *Ahanrāi* iron souled. Hayāt Khān also gave the tiger some blows. See *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp 185–188, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 12–13.

⁵ Warrant Officers in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 20, note 1, 260, but gentleman troopers of Banarsi Prasad, *op cit*, p 289, appears to be more appropriate.

of 200 horse, and afterwards was made the Superintendent of the greems (*mardum-i-jilau*), and had an increase of 200 horse and had an office of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After that he got an increase of 500 personalty, and, in the 21st year he had another increase of 500 and a rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and, in the 24th year, he received a flag, and afterwards had an increase of 300 horse and so attained the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 29th year, he got a drum, and, in the 30th year, when he was 70 years of age, he, on account of paralysis, was relieved from attendance. The King, out of regard for his servants, gave him villages worth 20 lacs of *dāms* in the neighbourhood of the Capital as *Sayurgahāl*¹, with succession to his son and grandson. The office of waiting on the King was transferred to others. In the 31st year, on 27 Sha'bān 1068 (19th May, 1658 A D), he died in the city (Delhī).

(SAIYID) HIDĀYAT ULLĀH ṢADR

(Vol II, pp 456, 457)

He was the son of Saiyid Ahmad Qādirī, who was the Chief *Sadr*² in the time of Jahāngir. In the 20th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān when the *Sadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr* Saiyid Jalāl died, and as the good qualities of Hidāyat Ullāh, who was the *Divān* of Qandahār, had been repeatedly brought to the notice of the King, he received the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse and was summoned to the Court. In the 21st year, he was admitted to an audience and received the robe of the *Sadārat* and an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500. In the 26th year, his rank was 2,500 with 200 horse. After the battle of Sāmūgarh when Aurangzib's army arrived³ in the neighbourhood of the Capital, he, in accordance with orders (from Shāh Jahān), came twice with Fādul Khān *Mir-i-Sāmān* before Aurangzib. He produced a royal letter and a sword called '*Ālamgīr*' which had been given (to Aurangzib by Shāh Jahān), and communicated a verbal message (from Shāh Jahān). In the early part of the reign (of Aurangzib) the *Ṣadārat* was taken⁴ from him and transferred to Mirak Shaikh Haravī. He for some years remained in retirement and then died.

HIMMAT KHĀN MIR 'ĪSĀ

(Vol III, pp 946-949)

He was the heir of Islām Khān Badakhshi. From his very early years he was a favourite of Aurangzib. He was an aggregate of talents and perfections, and a paragon of good qualities. He was always a patron of the learned men. He was of a gentle disposition and a well-wisher of humanity. The erudite and the talented of every quarter came over to him and were duly rewarded. He was a poet, and (this couplet) is his

¹ See Blochmann, *op cit*, pp 278-281. These were hereditary grants of land.

² For a detailed discussion of *Ṣadr* see Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp 254-288.

³ '*Ālamgīrnāma*', p 112.

⁴ *Loc cit*, p 473. This occurred in the fourth year.

Verse

Save the thorn that Majnūn had in his heart,
The desert held no thorn of madness

He enjoyed the influence and respect which his father had enjoyed during the time when Aurangzib was a Prince. After the battle with Jaswant he was raised to the rank of 2,000, and had the title of Hummat Khān which his father also had for a time. When in the 6th year his father was made governor of Āgra, he became the *faujdār* of the district, and 500 of his 1,000 horse were two-horse and three-horse. After his father's death he came to the Court and was made *Qūrbēgī* (in charge of royal standards). In the 9th year he was made the Superintendent of mace-bearers and in the 12th year Superintendent of the *Divān-i-Khāṣṣ*. Afterwards he had the rank of 3,000, and was made the 3rd Bakhsī. In the 14th year, he was exalted to the post of the 2nd Bakhsī in succession to Asad Khān, and in the 15th year he became *faujdār* of Āgra in succession to Sarbuland Khān. In the 17th year, at the time when the King went to Hasan Abdāl, he was made the Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna*. In the 19th year he was made the governor of Allahābād in succession to Hasan 'Alī Khān, and received a present of a lac of rupees. In the 23rd year, he did homage at Ajmēr and took leave at Udaipūr and went to his lands. In the same year Sarbuland Khān *Mīr Balhshī* died, and Hummat Khān was sent for. On 10th Shawwāl of the 24th year (4th November, 1680 A.D.) he was made in Ajmēr the 1st Bakhsī, and received a gold-embroidered robe of honour (*Khil at dōpatta-i-zarrīn*). When Prince Akbar joined with the Rāthors and some leaders of the army and came near his father's camp with the intention of fighting with him—who had not more than 10,000¹ horse in attendance—Aurangzib left Hummat Khān who had been struck with illness, in charge of Ajmēr, and marched out of the city. On 5th Muharram 1002 A.H. (16th January, 1681 A.D.), the Khān died. He was one of the worthies of the age and eminent among his contemporaries, and was eloquent in verse and prose. He also had a taste for Hindī and was well versed in it. His pen-name was Mīran. His sons were Muhammad Masīh Murīd Khān and Ruḥ Ullāh Nēknām Khān. The first, in the 26th year, was made *Mīr Tuzuk*², and afterwards had the title of Khānazād Khān, and in the 28th year was made the Superintendent of the stables in succession to Salābat Khān. After that he was the governor of the citadel of Aurangābād, and at last was the governor of the fort of Sūrāt. The other held the rank of 1,000 and was the Bakhsī of the army of Prince Bīdār Bakht.

HIMMAT KHĀN MUHAMMAD HASAN AND SIPAHDĀR KHĀN
MUHAMMAD MUHSIN

(Vol III, pp 949-951)

They were the sons of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh. At first they had suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Afterwards the first had

¹ *Maādhir* : 'Ālamgīrī, p 198

² Banarsi Prasad *History of Shahjahan*, p 273

the title of Muzaffar Khān, and the second the title of Naṣīrī Khān. In the 27th year of Aurangzib's reign, when a report¹ of the Khān Jahān was laid before the King to the effect, that the Mahrattas had assembled on the bank of the Kistnā with evil intentions, and that he had marched thirty *kos* and attacked them and killed and made prisoners of a great many, an approving *farmān* was sent to him, and his relatives received increase of rank and also titles. Among them Muzaffar Khān received the title of Himmat Khān and Naṣīrī Khān that of Sipahdār Khān. In the 29th² year, the first received a robe of honour, a sword and an elephant, and was sent off to Bijāpūr. After Bijāpūr was taken, he, in the 30th year, received a horse with decorated trappings, the rank of 2,500 with 2,200 horse, the title of Bahādūr and the gift of 80 lacs of *dāms*, and was put in charge of Allahābād. In the 33rd year, when Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh was made the governor of Allahābād, Muzaffar Khān was appointed governor of Oudh and *faujdār* of Gōrakhpūr. In the 34th year, he was again appointed to Allahābād, and afterwards was summoned to the Court. In the 37th year, he waited upon the King, and was sent off to the fort of Parnāla to convey the family³ of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (to him). In the 39th year, when Rūh Ullāh Khān and others were defeated by the Mahratta leader, Santā Ghōrpare⁴ (in Ghōrpara), as is detailed in the biography of Qāsim Khān Kirmānī (Text, III, pp 123-126), Muzaffar Khān in accordance with orders, made a rapid march and engaged Santā. A great battle took place and though he defeated the foe, a bullet struck him in the chest and he was killed⁵ in 1106 A.H.

The second (Sipahdār Khān) was appointed in the 30th year to the government of the Deccan⁶ in succession to Mukarram Khān, and in the 37th year to Allahābād. On the death⁷ of Buzurg Ummīd Khān, the *faujdār* of Jaunpūr was put in his charge, and his rank became 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of a *kror* of *dāms*. In the 41st year he was removed from there.

The author of the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* writes,⁸ that in the 48th year Sipahdār Khān, the governor of Allahābād, received, as a reward for his chastisement of Mahābat, a landholder of Jaunpūr, the rank of 4,000 with 3,500⁹ horse, and that in the 49th year he had¹⁰ an increase of 1,000 personal (*ghāt*). From this it appears that he became

¹ *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 241. The name of the younger son is given there as Naṣrat Khān who had the title of Sipahdār Khān.

² In the text only 9th but it appears from the *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī* p 273, that this is a mistake for 29th.

³ In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 360, also the word used is *مملکت*, but Mu'izz ud-Dīn is designated as Prince instead of Sultān.

⁴ Text wrongly represents Ghōrpare as the name of the battlefield. See Elliot, VII, p 355, and Khānī Khān, II, p 428. He is the famous general Santaji Ghorpade of Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of Maratha People*, pp 166, 167.

⁵ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 379, where the year of his death is given as 1107 A.H., Khāfī Khān, II, p 434. The date 1106 A.H. is incorrect as Himmat Khān was killed in 1696 A.D. (=1107 A.H.), see Kincaid and Parasnis, *op cit*, p 167 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp 294, 295.

⁶ *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 283, has Lāhōre.

⁷ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 365.

⁸ *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 481.

⁹ 3,000 in *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 481.

¹⁰ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 496.

the governor of Allahābād a second time After the death of Aurangzīb and in the reign of Bahādur Shāh he received the title of Khān Jahān 'Izz-ud-Daula Bahādur Probably in the 3rd¹ year of the reign he was made the governor of Bengāl The date of his death is not known There were memorials of him in Aurangābād near the Delhi gate a lofty building, and opposite to it a bath (*Hammām*) of exquisite purity, but now they are in ruins

(SAIYID) HIZBR KHĀN

(Vol II, pp 415, 416)

He was one of the Saiyids of Bārah In the 8th year of the reign of Jahāngīr he was appointed along with Prince Khurram to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh In the 13th year, his rank was 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 18th year he was sent with Sultān Parvīz in pursuit of Shāh Jahān In the year of Jahāngīr's death he was in attendance on Yamīn-ud-Daula and was present at the battle with Shahriyār² At the end of the reign he had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received his former rank and went with Mahābat Khān to Kābul as Nadhr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh, was creating a disturbance there In the third year, when the King was encamped in the Deccan, he went with Yamīn-ud-Daula to Bālāghāt and distinguished himself In the 11th year, he went with Khān Daurān Nasrat Jang to Kābul where Sultān Shujā' had stayed to protect the fort of Qandahār in case of a probability that Shāh Safī, the King of Persia, might invade that place At this time, corresponding to 1047 A H (1637-38 A D) he died His son, Saiyid Zabardast, had in the 30th year the rank of 800 with 400 horse

HIZBR³ KHĀN, SON OF ILĀHVARDI KHĀN

(Vol III, p 946)

In the reign of Aurangzīb he was, in the 7th year, the governor of the fort of Rohtās Afterwards he was *faujdār* of Benāres in succession to Arslān Khān, his brother, and his rank was 1,500 with 700 horse In the 18th year, 1085 A H, he was the *thānadār*⁴ of Jagdalak and was killed there, with his son, in a battle with the Afghāns

¹ According to Khāfi Khān, II, p 707, 'Izz-ud-Daula—who is there called Khān-Khānān and not Khān Jahān—was made the governor of Bengāl in succession to Farrukh siyar in the fifth year of Bahādur Shāh's reign corresponding to 1122 A.H (1710 A.D) Sipahdār *aliās* 'Izz-ud-Daula is not mentioned in Stewart or in the *Riyād us Salāfin* among the governors of Bengāl

² Battle about three miles from Lāhōre where Āsaf Khān defeated Shahriyār's army, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p 58

³ *Maāthir i 'Ālamgiri*, p 82

⁴ *Op cit*, pp 145 Hizbar is frequently mentioned in the '*Ālamgirnāma* It was Rohtās in Bihār of which he was the governor, p 360 In *Maāthir i 'Ālamgiri*, p 146, it is stated that the disaster was reported on Jumāda II, 1086 A H, so that apparently it occurred early in August 1676 A D The place of the disaster is not mentioned

HÖSHDĀR KHĀN MIR HÖSHDĀR

(Vol III, pp 943-946)

He was the son of Multafat Khān who was called A'zam Khān 'Ālamgiri. In the 27th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was appointed, in succession to his uncle Muftkhān Khān Zamān, *Dārōgha* of the Deccan artillery. His rank was 900 with 400 horse. At the end of the reign his rank was 1,000 with 600 horse. When the victorious banners of Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, proceeded towards Āgra and reached Burhānpūr, Hōshdār's rank was raised to 1,500 with 700 horse, and he was granted the title of Khān. In all the conflicts he was attached to Aurangzib's stirrups. When his father¹ died on the day of the battle with Dārā Shukōh from the heat of the air, the King increased his rank and made him the Superintendent of the *Ghuskhāna*, and he carried on the duties of this office in an efficient manner. After the battle with Shujā' his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 5th year, it became 4,000 with 3,000 horse. When at this time the King desired to go to Kashmīr, Hōshdār Khān was made governor of Delhi. In the 6th year, he was made governor of Āgra on the death of Islām Khān Badakhshī, and, in the 8th year, he was also made *faujdar* of the adjoining territory and received an increase of 1,000 horse. As his good service and strict religious principles were approved by the King, he long governed Āgra, and, in the 14th year, he was made the governor of Khāndēsh. In the 15th year (1082 A H), he died at Burhānpūr. He was the best shot, with a gun, of the age, and was for a time the instructor of Prince Muḥammad A'zam (as constant practice is necessary for skill). His sons, Kāmgar and Ja'far,² came and kissed the threshold after their father's death and were received with favour. The first was distinguished for his courage, and devotion to military duty. His pillow and counterpane were never without his coat of Mail. He had a body of companions whom he called "The Forty"³ (*Chihāl-tan*). In the pride of his being a house-born servant he was often guilty of presumption, and was, therefore, censured. In the 23rd year, when Ajmēr was the seat of royalty, he was, for some reason, removed⁴ from his rank and he gave⁵ himself four wounds in the belly with a dagger. The King restored him to favour in view of the regard he had for the houseborn ones. He was very athletic, and wonderful stories are narrated about him. His fight with a crocodile when he was the governor of the fort of Chunār is well known. He died while he was governor of the fort of Rā'isīn in Mālwa. He left no descendants.

(AMIR-UL-UMARĀ, SAYYID) HUSAIN 'ALĪ KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 321-338)

He was the younger brother of Quṭb-ul-Mulk 'Abdullāh Khān, an account of whose life has been given in its place (Text, III, pp 130-140)

¹ He died of exhaustion after the victory of Sāmūgarh in 1658

² *Maāthir* i. 'Ālamgiri, p 114

³ *Chihāl-tan* or forty folds is a name for a doublet

⁴ *Maāthir* i. 'Ālamgiri, p 156

⁵ *Maāthir* i. 'Ālamgiri, p 192. Apparently he wounded himself some four years after his dismissal

Qutb-ul-Mulk was the Prime Minister of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar and Saiyid Husain 'Ali was the Amīr-ul-Umarā. They belonged to the great family of the Saiyids of Bārah,¹ and were of the noblest rank in India. The two brothers were the *Farqadain* (the two Calves) stars of the heaven of Saiyidship, and the twin lights of the sphere of Amīrship. They were adorned with many sublime virtues and charming qualities, especially courage and generosity, in both of which they were pre-eminent. From the beginning of their rise to its culmination they led ideal lives and had a good reputation. By watering India with justice and goodness they made it the envy of eternal paradise. But in the latter days of their power they trod the path of error and fastened upon themselves the stain of an evil name, which will last till the day of judgment. In the opinion of just persons, however, their design in deposing the Emperor (Farrukh-siyar) was merely to preserve their own lives and honour. They had throughout their lives even sacrificed their lives and fulfilled the requirements of loyalty. The Emperor shut his eyes to their claims and designed to ruin them. He had this idea as long as life lasted, and at last this weak notion destroyed the sovereignty and overthrew the prosperity of the Emperor and of both the Saiyids.

Qādī² Shihāb-ud-Dīn the prince of the '*Ulamā*—May his grave be holy!—says with regard to the virtues of Saiyids that the true notes of Saiyidship are the demeanour (*Lhulg*) of Muhammad, the generosity of Hāshim³ and the courage of Haider. A true Saiyid must possess all these qualities. Then if by chance and by reason of the carnal spirit, transgressions occur, there should, at the end, be some motive which should lead to final deliverance. There is an illustration of these words in the fates of the two brothers, for they departed from this world as victims, and their countenances were reddened by the hue of martyrdom. The real name of Qutb-ul-Mulk was Hasan⁴ 'Alī, and that of the Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain⁴ 'Alī, the first was martyred by being poisoned, while the martyrdom of the second was effected by a dagger.

Though the Amīr-ul-Umarā was the younger brother, he in generosity, courage, magnanimity, gravity and modesty was superior to Qutb-ul-Mulk. In the time of Aurangzib he was the governor of Rantanpūr (Ranthambhōr) and at the close of the reign he was *faujdar* of Hindūn⁵ Bīyāna. When his brother, after the death of Aurangzib, was encompassed with favours by Shāh 'Ālam at Lāhōre, Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān entered the service of the King with a suitable force at Delhī, and in the battle with Muhammad A'zam Shāh did great deeds and was

¹ See Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp. 425-428, where a doubt is expressed on the question of their lineage.

² The remark comes from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 944, where Shihāb-ud-Dīn is called Daulatābādī, and his book the *Bahr Ma'wāy* is a commentary on the Qur'ān.

³ Muhammad's great grandfather who was renowned for his liberality. Haider is a name of 'Alī.

⁴ These names are mentioned on account of the manner of the death of Hasan and Husain, the Prophet's grandchildren. Hasan was poisoned by his wife, and Husain was killed on the plain of Karbalā. Similarly the elder Saiyid Qutb-ul-Mulk, whose real name was Hasan 'Alī, was poisoned by the orders of Muhammad Shāh, and Husain 'Alī, the younger Saiyid, whose title was Amīr-ul-Umarā, was killed by an assassin.

⁵ In the Āgra division, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 902. Hindūn is twelve kos S S W of Bīyāna (Thefenthaler).

promoted to a commission of 3,000 and given a drum, and by the influence of Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān was made *Nāib Sūbadār* of Patna. About the end of the reign of Bahādur Shāh, the governorship of Bengāl was transferred to Sipahdār Khān, known as Izz-ud-Daula Khān Jahān Bahādur in place of Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān. Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the heir of 'Azīm-ush-Shān who was his father's deputy in Bengāl¹ was summoned to the Presence and came to Patna. As for a long time he had been independent and did not enjoy with his father and grandfather the same favours as his brothers he felt it disagreeable and repulsive to go to the Presence, and put off the visit under the pretext² of want of funds. Meanwhile Shāh 'Ālam died and Muhammad Farrukh-siyar read the *Khutba* and struck coins in the name of his father, and started to collect men. Then came the news that his father had been killed, and in Rabi' I, 1123 A H (April 1711 A D) he himself ascended the throne. He won over by promises of favours Sayyid Husam 'Alī Khān Nāzim of Patna, and made him his companion and by this means Sayyid Hasan 'Alī Khān Nāzim of Allahābād, also took his side. In a short time a large army was collected but from want of funds until Āgra was reached he did not have more than 12,000 cavalry. Husam 'Alī Khān on the day of the battle, which took place with Jahāndār Shāh, near Āgra, was opposed along with Hasan Bēg Safshukan Khān, the *Nāib Sūbadār* of Orīssa and Zāim-ud-Dīn Khān son of Bahādur Khān Rōhila, to Dhūlfagār Khān who had taken up a position with many guns and culverins. He urged on the cavalry and attacked the line of guns. When he saw that the battle was going against him, he, in accordance with the practice of the Indian soldiers dismounted³ and fell to the ground and fainted because of his wounds. The other two leaders and the *Jama'dār* were slain. After the victory Husam 'Alī Khān obtained⁴ the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and the post of *Mīr Bakshī*. In the second year he was sent with a large army to chastise Ajīt Singh Rāthōr who was behaving rebelliously in his native country. Up to Mūrthā⁵ he devastated the country. The Rāja was terrified and retired via Bikānir to strongly defended country. This is what they say about the Amīr-ul-Umarā's orders in this expedition that as the villages of Ajīt Singh and Jai Singh were intermixed, and the peasants of the first fled in terror he directed the plunderers to sack the deserted villages and set fire to them but not to injure the inhabited ones. Ajīt Singh's peasantry saw this and came forward and made peace through the peasantry of Jai Singh. Thereupon *Sazāwals* were appointed to make the plunderers extinguish the flames, and return what had been plundered. This was done without delay. Certain reliable persons who examined the villagers, unanimously declared that they sustained no injury except that caused by arson⁶. When the Rāja saw his own loss, he reflected on the final issue, and sent

¹ Farrukh-siyar was at Rājmahal.

² In *Siyar-ul-Muta'āhharīn* it is stated. He pleaded that his wife was about to be confined, and that the rains were at hand. He came to Patna from Rājmahal.

³ From his elephant see Khāfi Khān II, pp 702 and 722.

⁴ Khāfi Khān II, p 728.

⁵ Mūrthā in Irvine. *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn) I, p 288.

⁶ See Irvine, *The Later Mughals in the Journal Asiat Soc Bengal*, p 47 (1903), and *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn) I, p 289.

responsible agents with presents and agreed to send Kunwar Abhai Singh his eldest son to the Court, and give his daughter—called the *Dōlah*¹ (bride²) in the language of the country—to the King and begged pardon for his offences. As Mīr Jumla was at the Court and had control of the King's signature and gave commissions and fiefs to whoever came to him and as every day the King became more and more alienated from the Saivids the Amīr-ul-Umarā accepted the proposal of peace and took the Kunwar with him and hastily returned. He left a body of troops in order that the bride might be brought later on. In this journey a wonderful accident occurred.

They say that when the Amīr-ul-Umarā came within sixteen *los* of Mirtha the Rājā's confidential agent arrived with 1,500 cavalry to carry out the peace terms and they wanted to encamp. As it was reported that their statements were not true and that they were preparing some stratagem so that the Rājā might get away with his baggage Husam 'Alī Khān sent a message that if the peace was a reality, they should agree to be made prisoners and put in chains until the arrival of the Prince. They at first, out of regard for their honour, were unwilling to do this but at last agreed. The Amīr-ul-Umarā put chains on four influential men and made them over to the leading *jama'dārs*. When the *jama'dārs* came out of the *Dūānkhāna* (hall of audience) with their prisoners the rabble of the camp on seeing the state of things, rushed to their tents and a fight took place. Though men were sent to rebuke them yet the vagabonds in a twinkling of an eye destroyed life and property. The Amīr-ul-Umarā released the four men, and begged their forgiveness. They too were convinced that this mischief had taken place without the Amīr-ul-Umarā's wish and wrote to this effect to the Rājā. But he had already fled on hearing of what had occurred. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless and hastened to Mirtha, and stayed there till peace had been restored. After he arrived at Delhi the question of the government of the Deccan came up. Husam 'Alī Khān wished that he should remain at the Court, and that the deputyship should be given to Dā'ūd Khān according to the precedent of Dhūlfāqār Khān. The King, at the advice of his intriguing counsellors, did not agree to this. The dispute lasted a long time. At last² it was agreed that Mīr Jumla should at first go to the government of Patna, and that after that Amīr-ul-Umarā, who had charge of the appointing and removing of all public servants in the Deccan should take leave. Accordingly in the 4th year, 1127 A H he set off for the Deccan. At the time of taking leave he represented to the King that if, in his absence, Mīr Jumla should come to the Court, or if any difference was made in the position of Qutb-ul-Mulk, he (the King) should understand that he would come back in the space of twenty days.

¹ *Dulhā* means a bridegroom in Hindustānī and *dulhin* means a bride. Ajit was afterwards killed by his son Abhai. According to Irvine, loc cit., p. 49, *dolah* is a Hindī word for an informal marriage. The girl's name was Bāi Indar Kunwar *Dōlā* or *Dōlī* is given in Wilson's Glossary as meaning a swing or sedan chair, and also as the case when a woman of inferior rank is married to a man of superior rank. She is carried home privately without any ceremonial or procession. It was perhaps as much out of deference to Rājput feelings as of the rank of Farrukh-siyar that the marriage received the name of *Dōlā*. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, p. 290.

² Khāfi Khān II, p. 741. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 301-303.

When he reached Mālwa, Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i, the governor, retired, so that there should not be an interview. The Amīr-ul-Umarā wrote to the King, "If this movement is in accordance with an intimation (from you), let it be ordered that I return from this place. Otherwise Dā'ūd Khān will behave in the same way to-morrow." In the beginning of the reign the Saiyids had been the means of saving the life of Dā'ūd Khān and recently the Amīr-ul-Umarā had procured for him from the King the deputy governorship of Burhānpūr, and he had come from Gujarāt and was established there. In answer to Amīr-ul-Umarā's report an order came saying that with regard to the misbehaviour of Jai Singh, he (Amīr-ul-Umarā) had been invested with the power of appointing or dismissing him. What likelihood was there that Dā'ūd Khān would behave in a similar manner? If he does, he should send him to the Court. But from pusillanimity and the meanness of disposition, the King, through Khān Daurān, secretly instigated Dā'ūd Khān to oppose Amīr-ul-Umarā. When the latter crossed the Narbadā it was evident that Dā'ūd Khān had severed the thread of amity, and had no intention of coming for an interview. Husain 'Alī attempted to reform him, and, as has been related in the biography of Dā'ūd Khān¹, sent messages to him. The purport² of these messages was that an interview was necessary for concord, but that if he was disposed to join the opposition, he should proceed to the Court, and he (Amīr-ul-Umarā) would not prevent his doing so. Dā'ūd Khān advanced the foot of ignorance and brought the affair to a battle on 11th Ramadān (10th August, 1715 A.D.), an engagement took place near the city (Burhānpūr). Though Dā'ūd Khān had been severely wounded by a musket-ball, he faced the Amīr-ul-Umarā and was killed. After this victory, which inspired terror into the hearts of the leading rebels of the Deccan, Amīr-ul-Umarā made Aurangābād his headquarters and appointed Dhūlfaqār Bēg Bakhshī to chastise Khāndī Dharbaray,³ the general of Rāja Sāhū, who had built forts in Khāndēsh and established *thānas*, and had disturbed the country by his demands of *Chauth* and had plundered the caravans. He met the robbers in the pargana of Bhamber,⁴ and fought with them. The Mahrattas following their rule dispersed after a brief fight and fled. The army, which had not seen a Deccan-battle, and was not acquainted with the crooked ways of the Mahrattas, pursued them, rejoicing, when suddenly those rascals made such a hot attack that Dhūlfaqār Bēg, who had rashly advanced too far, was killed with a number of others, while the rest of the army fled. Though Saif-ud-Dīn⁵ 'Alī Khān and Rāja Muḥkam Singh were appointed to punish that contentious tribe and hastened to the

¹ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 63-68, Beveridge's translation, pp 458-462

² Khāfi Khān, II, p 751. See also *Siyar ul Muta'āhhidīn*, Calcutta reprint I, p 92 *et seq*. In Khāfi Khān the date is given as the beginning of Ramadān, while in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p 303, it is "8th Ramzan 1127 H (6th September, 1715)".

³ Grant Duff (1921 edn), I, p 348, has Khunde Rao Dharbaray and Khande Rāo Dābhāde in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 338. In the text it is *Khāndū Dihāriya*, see Khāfi Khān, II, p 778 where it is *Khāndū Pahāriya*.

⁴ In the text Bhāner, but apparently the place is the Bhamber of Grant Duff's Map, N.N.W. of Aurangābād and S.E. of Nundoorbār. See Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 208. It was in the Sarkār Nadarbār.

⁵ A younger brother of Husain 'Alī

port of Sūrāt, and afterwards Muḥkam¹ Singh went as far as Satāra, which was Sīhū's home² and abode, and omitted nothing in the way of plundering yet the defeat was not remedied in a manner worthy of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's dignity and position. If we look only to apparent circumstances, namely that he had ample treasure, a large army, a lofty mind and inborn courage, the vagrant handful of Mahrattas should have been cuffed and their account settled by drubbings, but, as the Emperor, at the instigation of the destroyers of the dominion, himself encouraged opposition to the Amīr-ul-Umarā—is in the instance of Dī'ūd Khān—and secretly and openly intrigued with the leaders of the Deccan, and even with Rājā Sīhū Bhōnsle who had forcibly become the Rājā of the Deccan—and as in Delhi there were every day fresh disagreements with Qutb-ul-Mulk so that every moment cries of "Seize him and kill him" were heard and he in his louchness and alarm was writing letters to his brother and pressing him to come, the Amīr-ul-Umarā was helpless, and, therefore joined alien foes against the household ones. In 1130 A.H., he, through the intermediation of Shaṅkrājī Malhār and Muḥammad Anwar Khān of Burhānpūr, made peace with Rājā Sīhū. The terms were that in consideration of abstaining from attacking and plundering the country, and troubling the routes and highways, and keeping up 15,000 cavalry for the Nāẓim, *sanads* were given for the *Chauth*³ and *Dēshmulhī* of the six provinces of the Deccan. Husam 'Alī's own seal was affixed to the *sanads* and the revenues (*tanḥuāh*) of the Kōnkan (Concan) and other territories, which Sīhū called his old kingdom, were made over to him and his agents were made co-partners and put into possession. Though he (Husam 'Alī) in view of the situation at the time, thought that this trafficking was to his advantage, but considering the final outcome, it resulted in a great loss. He drew the black mark of a bad name over his record for a succession of epochs. Though the desertion of religion and the abasement of Islām—God forbid that such a thing should happen!—were not contemplated by Husam 'Alī in this transaction, yet the consequence was that the power of the infidels was increased tenfold, and every day they raised their heads higher and higher. But a clear-sighted arbitrator perceives that in this shameful business, fortune and the state of the times had a great share. As the peace with the Mahrattas and the making of treaties and agreements with them and admitting them to fellowship, and the resentment of the Emperor with Qutb-ul-Mulk were all motives for the Amīr-ul-Umarā's removing from the Deccan, and as his approach to Upper India was also bruited abroad, the Emperor, from a vain thought and in order to obstruct his coming, sent off Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur on the pretext that he should settle Mālwa which lay on the road from the Deccan. Afterwards, as by the contrivances of I'tiqād Khān, the game of deceit was renewed between the Emperor and his minister, the former sent Ikhlās Khān—who, it was said, was held in regard by both the brothers—to soothe Husam 'Alī and to restrain him from coming to the Court. The Amīr-ul-Umarā,

¹ Maokoob Sing of Grant Duff I, p. 333. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 779, has Muḥkam

² Son of Sambhājī and grandson of Shivājī

³ Or *Sardeshmulhī*, 10 p.c. on the collections of the six provinces, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 784. See also Grant Duff (1921 edn.), p. 334, Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (1900), p. 192, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338, and S. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), pp. 111-118.

who had firmly resolved on coming, stopped on hearing of the new friendship between the Emperor and his minister and waited for further news. When he heard that there had been a fresh disagreement, he, on 1st Muḥarram, 1131 A H (24th November, 1718 A D) left Aurangābād in great pomp with the army of the Deccan and with the Mahrattas. He took with him Mu'in-ud-Dīn,¹ a person of obscure origin who was represented to be a son of Prince Akbar, and wrote to the Emperor along with expressions of loyalty and fidelity that "he (Prince Akbar's son) had raised a commotion in Rāja Sāhū's territory (*ta'aluqa*) and been imprisoned, I sent for him. As caution and circumspection are proper in such matters, I am bringing him myself to the Court. About the end of Rabi' I,² Husain 'Alī, encamped at Delhi near Firūz Shāh's Lāt. Contrary to the etiquette³ he beat his drums, and then entered his tent. He several times repeated in a loud voice that he had left the Emperor's service. Afterwards, when through the intervention of Qutb-ul-Mulk there were some negotiations and some conditions and promises were laid down, he, on 5th Rabi' II, waited upon the Emperor, and enumerated his grievances. He was received with favour and allowed to depart. Again on the 8th he mounted (his horse or elephant) with the intimation that he intended to make over the fictitious prince, and entered the house of Shāyista Khān, which had been given to him by the Emperor. Qutb ul Mulk and the Mahārāja (Ajit Singh) hastened to arrange about the fort and allowed no one to enter it. As the letting slip⁴ of an opportunity may be interpreted as bad planning and as the shutting of one's eyes to such a chance would be bidding farewell to life and honour, they arranged a great coup, and entered upon a great enterprise, as has been specially described in the biography of Qutb-ul-Mulk (Text, III, pp 135, 136). Two months had not elapsed when Nēkū-siyar,⁵ the son of Muhammad Akbar—who was imprisoned in the Āgra fort—with the concurrence of the attendants there raised the standard of opposition. Amīr-ul-Umarā came on the wings of swiftness and besieged the fort for three months and some days, and by the contrivance of the officers of the guards (*Ahshām*)⁶ got possession⁷ of the fort and seized the property there. When Qutb-ul-Mulk had an interview at Fathpūr with Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i—who had come from Amber to offer opposition—the Amīr ul-Umarā also went there. After the Rāja had made peace between the brothers, there arose disputes about the goods in Āgra (fort), and angry

¹ Prince Akbar was the rebel son of Aurangzib. He fled to the Mahrattas and afterwards to Persia where he lived till his death. For Mu'in-ud-Dīn, see Khāfi Khān, II pp 793, 795, 807, and Grant Duff (1921 edn.), I, p 337, note 2, and Irvine, *The Later Mughals in Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* for 1904, p 319, and Irvine's *Later Mughals*, op cit I, p 337.

² According to the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 335, the date of arrival outside Delhi was 16th February, 1719.

³ This was one of the prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p 139.

⁴ Khāfi Khān II pp 808-809.

⁵ This was not the son who had been with the Mahrattas. For Nēkū-siyar see Elliot, VII, pp 398-405 and Khāfi Khān II p 825, etc. He had been imprisoned for forty years. This affair took place after Farrukh-siyar's deposition. See *Savar al-Mu'aththirin* Calcutta reprint I p 144 and Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I pp 402-412.

⁶ For *Ahshām* see Irvine, *History of the Indian Mughals*, p 160.

⁷ Khāfi Khān, II p 836. See also Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I pp 422-423.

and bitter messages were sent on both sides. But at last, by the tact of Rājā¹ Ratan Chand an open rupture was avoided. With much disgust (on the part of Husain 'Alī) a small² portion of the property fell to the share of Qutb ul-Mulk. As it was the design of the incomparable Deity—Whose counsels who can fathom?—that each of the brothers should wet his lips with the wine of success and then should quaff the dregs of saline water of failure and that after having hastened some way towards fortune they should tread the path of failure, a great neglect, or a gross mistake was committed in that when after such troubles so great a thing had been brought to them by the wheel of Heaven they did not compromise with one another and mount the throne of India¹. If one had submitted to the other or if the Amir-ul-Umarā, who was universally renowned for loftiness of soul, majesty, genius and transcendent courage had got rid of Qutb ul-Mulk and had seated himself on the throne of sovereignty it is probable that he would have been successful, and that dominion would have long remained in his family in the same way as ancient histories narrate of other personalities¹. In fine in consequence of the disturbance caused by Chabīla³ Rām and Girdhar Bahādur, the Amir ul Umarā returned from Fathpūr to Āgra with the King Muḥammad Shāh and Qutb ul-Mulk and remained there until the affair was settled. When Girdhar Bahādur, after the death of Chabīla Rām, was scratching the head of presumption, Haidar Qulī Khān and Muḥammad Khān Bangash were appointed and by the intervention of Rājā Ratan Chand a peace was made and they were freed from apprehensions from that quarter (Girdhar). At this time Heaven drew a new design on the page of Fortune. Nizām ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang (Āṣaf Jāh) who, for his excellent planning, and strength of mind was a favourite officer of Aurangzib showed an inclination to rebel against the Sultans, and marched rapidly to the Deccan. In a short time Dilāwar Khān, the *Bakhshī* of Amir-ul-Umarā, who had followed him with a well equipped force, and Ālam 'Alī Khān, the brother's son and adopted son of Husain 'Alī Khān who had been made the *Nā'ib Sūbādār* of the Deccan, and who with a Mahratta army and his own force had gone to encounter Nizām-ul-Mulk, were in successive battles⁴ disposed of by the latter, losing both their properties and their lives. A strange state of things now presented itself to Husain 'Alī Khān. He did not know what the end would be. His mind became confused and every day he resolved on some new plan. Some said⁵ that as his wife was in the Deccan he should send a *farmān* for the government of the Deccan to Nizām-ul-Mulk and so conciliate him. After that he should amend matters gradually. Meanwhile news came that Saiyid Mubārak Khān Bokhārī, the hereditary governor of Daulatābād, although he was

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 837. See Irvine, *op cit*, p. 430.

² He got twenty-one lacs of rupees, after four months, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p. 837.

³ Jhila in the text, his name was Chabīla Rām Nāgar, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 328–330, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 429, 430. Girdhar was his nephew, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 842.

⁴ Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, in which Dilāwar 'Alī Khān was defeated, and Battle of Bālāpūr, 9th August, 1720, in which 'Ālam 'Alī Khān was defeated by Nizām ul Mulk. See Irvine, *op cit*, II, pp. 28–34, 47–49.

⁵ See account of Diyānat Khān, *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text II, p. 75, Beveridge's translation, p. 480, note 1.

offended at Husain 'Alī Khān having deprived him of his *jāgīr*, had, out of respect for the Saiyids, given shelter in the fort of Aurangābād to the Amīr-ul-Umarā's family and possessions, before the arrival of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and so was protecting them against enemies. This news restored in some measure the Amīr-ul-Umarā's composure. After much consultation and reflection he took the King with him and proceeded from Āgra towards the south on 9th Dhul Qa'da, 1132 (12th September, 1720) with 50,000 horse. Besides this, he also sent money everywhere to collect troops.

Good God! Those two brothers, and especially the Amīr-ul-Umarā, possessed generosity, kindness, gentleness, and innate goodness. They were never unjust or tyrannous to a single soul, and yet the Turner of hearts (God) had so disposed the minds of men, that the Saiyids' own protégés, though they knew that their ruin involved their own destruction, used to say among themselves "O God! may this boat sink!" What then shall we say of the feelings of strangers? As I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur suspected,¹ that on account of his near relationship with Nizām-ul-Mulk, they would not in the end stay their hands from him, he, in spite of the oaths and promises of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, meditated rebellion. He stirred up Mīr Haidar² Kāshgharī—who belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Dughlāts, and whose great grandfather, Mīr Haidar, was the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*,³ and had been always associated with Bābur and Humāyūn and for a time had been the ruler of Kashmīr and the members⁴ of whose family had the title of Mīr on account of their being hereditary sword-bearers (*Mīr-i-Shamshēr*)—to be on the watch for an opportunity of cutting the thread of the life of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, by fraud and guile.

They say, that except for the Emperor's mother, the Ṣadr-un-Nisā (Superintendent of the harem), and Sa'ādat Khān Nishāpūrī—who had come to the Court, from the *faujdārī* of Hindūn-Biyāna and had been made partaker of the secret by Muḥammad Amīn Khān—no one knew about the plot. Though it was ascertained that on the night which was pregnant with the catastrophe, Mīr Jumla had, as his well-wisher, informed the Amīr-ul-Umarā, the latter had answered, "I suppose I am a melon that anyone may strike with a knife", and so paid no heed. Anyhow, on 6th Dhul Hijja, 1138 (9th October, 1720) in the second year of the reign when the camp was at Tōra⁵ which is 35 current ('*urfī*) *kos* from Fathpūr, I'timād-ud-Daula, on the pretext of nausea and upsetting of his stomach, alighted at the advance-tents (*pēshkhāna*) of Haidar Qulī Khān, the head of the artillery (*Mīr Ātīsh*). Husain 'Alī Khān (the Amīr-ul-Umarā)

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 902

² Khāfi Khān, II, p. 903

³ For this work, see Prashad, Preface to *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, III, p. xxx. As noted there an English translation with annotations of the work was published by N. Elias and E. D. Ross in 1895.

⁴ Perhaps the meaning is that they were called Mīrs on account of their skill in swordsmanship, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 903. It seems doubtful if Haidar Gurgūn was the great grandfather of the assassin, probably more than three generations had elapsed.

⁵ Tōra is the Thora Bhīm of Trefenthaler, and the Toda Bhīm of the Indian Atlas. It is 45 miles W S W Fathpūr Sikrī (Irvine). It lies in Rājputāna in Jaipur territory and is on or near the river Gambhīr.

after the Emperor had entered the female apartments turned back and was going in his palanquin to his quarters. When he came near the gate¹ of the enclosure (*gulālbār*), Mīr Haidar who was known, and was admitted to conversation, presented to the Amīr-ul-Umarā an account of his case, and began to make a verbal representation of his miserable circumstances. When he saw that Amīr-ul-Umarā was engaged in reading his petition, he so quickly and forcibly struck him with his dagger in the side that he was at once done for. Nūr Ullāh² Khān, the son of Asad Ullāh Khān known as Nawwāb Auliā, who was accompanying on foot, killed Mīr Haidar with his sword. The Moghuls ran together from every side and killed Nūr Ullāh Khān, and cut off the head of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and took it to the Emperor. As Husain 'Alī Khān's men, on arriving at the stage, had all taken up their places in ignorance of what was impending, they could not come to the spot in time. But Sayyid Ghairat³ Khān as soon as he heard of what had happened, without waiting to collect men, hurried with a few followers and was killed. Another party also strove vainly. Later the body of the Amīr-ul-Umarā—which had lain in a dishonoured state, and the bodies of Ghairat Khān and Nūr Ullāh Khān were, by the King's orders after the recital of funeral prayers, placed on biers covered with gold brocade and directed to be conveyed to Ajmēr and laid in the tomb of Amīr-ul-Umarā's father, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān⁴.

It has been stated by some reliable men, that before this occurrence, a pious man beheld in a dream that the martyred 3rd Imām (Husain)—Peace be upon him and his ancestors!—addressed the Amīr-ul-Umarā and said "*bālagha wa'daka wa ghalba 'adāwala*. Your time is finished and your enemies have triumphed." After the occurrence when a calculation was made, each sentence was found to form a chronogram,⁵ each being the other inverted. Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Husainī Wāsiṭī Bilgrāmī (Mercy be upon him!) composed a splendid elegy⁶ on Husain 'Alī. It also contains a chronogram.

Elegy

The signs of the Karbalā are apparent from the forehead of India,
The blood of the descendants of the Nabī is gushing out of the soil of India.

Mourning for Husain 'Alī is current all over the world,
The Sayyids are oppressed in India.

¹ Cf *Siyar ul-Muta'ahhizin*, p 176

² Cousin of Amīr-ul-Umarā

³ Khāfi Khān, II, p 905, calls him 'Izzat Khān and says he was Husain 'Alī's sister's son. But Ghairat Khān seems correct.

⁴ Cf *Siyar ul-Muta'ahhizin*, I, p 181. For details of the conspiracy and murder, see Irvine, *op cit*, pp 58-61.

⁵ Both sentences contain the same letters differently arranged and both yield 1132, cf *Siyar ul-Muta'ahhizin*, I, p 198. The Arabic words are (و) بلغ وعدك (و) بلغ وعدك. The conjunction *wa* is not part of the chronogram, and the inversion is not perfect. He is supposed to refer to both of the Sayyid brothers, but one was killed in 1132, and the other was defeated in 1133 and died of poison given in his food on 1st Muḥarram, 1135 or 12th October, 1722. See Irvine, *op cit*, p 96.

⁶ The elegy consists of 36 lines the last being the chronogram.

The lights of tears are being fed by the fires of the heart,
 The flower of the fire of India is blooming
 Why does not the world become dark through the clouds of grief,
 The lamp of the happy tidings of India has been extinguished
 On this count the dress of the Arabs is blue,
 But the sleeves of India have become red with blood of sorrow
 Rustam-like Husain 'Ali has been murdered
 By a dagger which lay in ambush in India
 That brave warrior, who, with the pen of the Sword of Bārah
 Used to write the treatise of the conquest of India,
 The rebels of the world have become his obedient followers
 He has impressed the mark of authority throughout India
 His sword on the day of battle with unfortunate enemies
 Used like thunder to split the steel-like forces of India
 Son of Mustafā, true follower of Murtadā
 His name served as an oath for the pride of India
 India through his murder has become a soulless body,
 In other words he was the emblem of the life of India
 The world has become dark like a grave to the eyes of the people
 Since this precious stone of India has fallen out of its setting
 He was murdered by the son of Muḥjam II
 They say the sorrowing flower of India is from Kūfā
 India has never before faced such a tragedy,
 We have looked through all famous histories and chronicles of India
 Patience has languished and sorrow become strong,
 This is our Fortune at the hands of the great and small of India
 O friends of the family of the Prophet and the sincere lovers of the
 descendants of the Prophet,
 Be sorrowful for the Husain of afflicted India
 Till God grants succour to the Saiyids
 Against the conspiracies of their enemies
 The date of his martyrdom was written by the pen of Wāsiṭi
 Husain was murdered by the wicked, accursed of India

The truth is that there were few officers of his time who were equal to him in goodness. He was eminent for many excellent qualities, and was unique for his *genus and humanity*. Abundance of food and its ample distribution in his establishment were well known. He established *bulghūr khānas*¹ (barley houses) for raw and cooked grain, and held assemblies on the 11th and 12th of the month in the great cities of the Deccan, these are still carried on. In these assemblies he, with humility and reverence, personally served *shaykhs* and *faqīrs*. Before he came to the Deccan, he never took money for transacting any business (*Zar-i-muḥimsāzī*). Afterwards Muḥkam Singh and the other clerks induced him to do so by making representations regarding the smallness of his income and the heavy nature of expenditure. For instance, they say that Haidar Quli Khān, the Superintendent of the port of Sūrat had confiscated the property of Mullā 'Abdul Ghafūr Bhōra,² the chief merchant (Malik-ut-Tujjār) of that port, although he had heirs. At the same time there

¹ *Bulghūr* is a Turkī word meaning bruised barley or wheat

² Properly Bōhrā. See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 91. The story is told in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 943. See also Elliot, VII, p. 520.

had occurred a change of sovereignty. His property was worth a kror of rupees and his son 'Abd ul Haya came to the Court to seek redress and petitioned he presented to the Amīr ul 'Umara fifteen lacs of rupees. One day at early dawn he went for him and made a gift to him both of the present and the property. He also gave him a robe of honour and dismissed him. He said (to Divān ul Khān the *Dīrān*), 'Thus might I had a struggle with myself about this man's property, but at last I prevailed over my covetousness.'

(IKHLĪS KHĀN) HUSAIN BĒG

(Vol I p 151)

One of the Wilā Shāhis (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān after his accession in the first year made Ikhlas Khān an officer of the rank of 2000 with 800 horse, and bestowed on him a present of Rs 6000. He was appointed to the *Dīrān* of Burhānpūr. In the 3rd year his rank was increased by 200 horse. In the 4th year he was made *fenjār* of Ajmēr and in the 13th year 1049 (1639-40 A D) he died. His son Naim Bēg received the rank of 500 with 220 horse and died in the 15th year (1641-42 A D).

HUSAIN BĒG KHĀN ZILĀ

(Vol I pp 591-593)

He was the sister's son and son in law (*Dhātish*) of the famous 'Alī Mardān Khān. When Sa'id Khān the governor of Kābul came to Qandahār in accordance with the request of 'Alī Mardān Khān he found the militia and the subjects in a wavering condition of goodwill. He perceived that it would not be possible to make proper arrangements while the Persian troops were in the neighbourhood of Rust and so he left 'Alī Mardān Khān in the charge of Qandahār with a body of troops and took with him under the leadership of Husain Bēg, 3,000 cavalry and engaged the Persians. The latter almost overpowered 'Alī Mardān's men and made them waver but Sa'id Khān came up in time and defeated the enemy. Then Husain Bēg with 'Alī Mardān Khān waited on Shāh Jahān and was rewarded with princely favours. As signs of capability were apparent in Husain Bēg he was removed from the companionship of the said Khān and made Master of the Horse—a charge which is not granted to any but really trustworthy men. In the 18th year, he received, in addition, the employment of the *Tuzul*, a decorated staff and an increase of rank. In the 21st year, he was sent away from the Court and made the governor of Kashmīr, with the title of Khān and an increase of 500 personality (*dhāt*) with 500 horse, and was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the gift of a flag and an elephant,

¹ See Ilibot VII p 520. The change, apparently, was the death of Farrukh-syar. Khāfi Khān mentions that Husain 'Alī made the remark to Divān ul Khān.

² *Bādshāhnāma* I, p 372.

³ *Bādshāhnāma* II, p 727.

⁴ In the list at the beginning of the volume Zilā is wrongly printed as Ūzbeḡ.

and went off there. In the 28th year, he was made the *faujdār* of the *Mīyān Dūāb* in succession to Ghadanffar Khān and was sent to take charge of the buildings of Mukhlispūr, the foundation of which had been fixed for 17th Muḥarram, 1065 A H. In the 31st year, he was again appointed to a confidential position and made *Mīr Tuzuk*. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he had charge of the royal artillery. Dārā Shukōh's artillery was under the charge of Barqandāz Khān and was on the right, and the royal artillery was on the left and both were in front of the armies. Neither yielded to the other in kindling the flames of battle and in the heat of contest. But what remedy was there for a ruined leader! After Dārā Shukōh's flight, and when the business of the state fell to Aurangzib's servants, Husain Bēg was exalted by kissing the threshold of the Caliphate. In the year of the accession he was appointed as the *faujdār* of Bangash, but in the end of the second year he was removed. In the 18th year, he was made the *faujdār* of Jaunpūr, and in the 19th year in the end of the year 1086 A D (1676 A D) he died. His sons, Mīrzā 'Atā Ullāh and Mīrzā Amān, were long in attendance on the Emperor. The former died after attaining the rank of 700, while the other was appointed to Kābul and there distinguished himself and was given the name of Nāṣir Khān. His biography has been given separately (Text, III, pp 833-835).

(SAIYID) HUSAIN KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol II, pp 500-502)

He was one of the officers of Bahādur Shāh. When the management of the affairs of the kingdom passed into the hands of this King, and differences arose between Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i and his brother, Bijai Singh, who were with the royal forces in Kābul, the King, who was innately complaisant, decided for the sake of removing the differences to confiscate Amber¹ as a royal possession, and appointed the above-mentioned Khān as the *faujdār* of that area. During this period Bahādur Shāh started towards the Deccan for opposing Kām Bakḥsh. Rāja Jai Singh and Mahārāja Ajit Singh, without permission, left the victorious army for their homes, and having collected forces on arrival took possession of several of the royal *thānas*. On perceiving this state of affairs, Saiyid Husain Khān reviewed the old and new forces, and with his three sons, Abū Sa'id Khān, Ghairat Khān and Hasan Khān, and his brother-in-law Mahābat Khān, and his two nephews, Muḥammad Zamān Khān and Saiyid Mas'ūd Khān, proposed to fight in Amber. But as the very large ant- and locust-like hordes of fanatic Rājputṣ created disturbances all over, the new recruits of Husain Khān losing courage took to flight. Consequently the said Khān with a small army came out of Amber and faced Durgā Dās Rāthōr in the field of Kāla Dahra. The Rājputṣ on being vanquished fled, but the baggage of the said Khān was plundered, and one of his sons, who was accompanying it, was made a martyr. Next morning the aforesaid Khān without much equipment reached Nārṇōl, and after collecting further forces engaged in battle

¹ انبیر Anbir in the text. This happened during Bahādur Shāh's invasion of Rājputāna in 1707, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, pp 46, 47.

once again with Rāja Jai Singh near the town of Sāmbhar¹ In the beginning the said Khān was successful, but suddenly two to three thousand musketeers, who were lying in ambush below an embankment, came out and started fire The aforesaid Khān, who had only a small force and most of which was also wounded, was killed with other officers And of his nephews, Muḥammad Zamān Khān and Saiyid Mas'ūd Khan who were captured, the first was killed, and the second, who was not more than 16 years old, was taken before the Rāja The Rāja gave urgent injunctions for the dressing of his wounds, and Saiyid Husam Khān was buried in the field of martyrs This event occurred in the 2nd year of the reign of Bahādur Shāh corresponding to the year 1120 A H² It is stated that the Rāja had a very elegant garden laid out and a suitable building erected over the grave of the said Khān on the bank of the Sāmbhar Lake No information regarding the rank of the said Khān has come to hand

HUSAIN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ³

(Vol I, pp 600-605)

He was the eldest son of Sultān Aḥmad A'zam Shāhī When his father at the summons of Aurangzib intended to proceed to the Court from the town of Qasūr (south of Lāhōre) which is the native place of the Khwēshgīs, and died, Husam Khān's two brothers, Bāyazīd Khān and Pīr Khān, reached the Court and received offices But Husam Khān himself and the fourth brother returned to their accustomed abode and did not try at all to secure service Although he nominally held an office (*mansab*), yet he never stirred from his home, and what others obtained by hard endeavours he received, in double and quadruple measure, by merely sitting in his house He remained reclined on the pillow of dominion of that country and with a large army and numerous followers unfurled the flag of I and not another He did not render any accounts to the government of Lāhōre, but sent them offerings of some things which he took from their fiefs in that quarter And though he gave himself out as a mad man, yet he was prudent in business and paid proper respect to the holy family of the Saiyids He never made the least failure in offering all respects to the Saiyids He was specially devoted to a notorious devotee known as Batak,⁴ and did whatever he said He never refused him, and while he was seated, every hour they brought him the news that the Miyān Sāhib is well, and he responded by thanking God That devotee was called Muḥammad Khān, and belonged to the Batakzā'is Suddenly madness took possession of him, and he became violent For a long time he was kept with his feet chained At last he got into companionship with Husam Khān

¹ For an account of the battle and death of Saiyid Husam Khān Bārāh see Irvine, *op cit*, pp 69, 70

² See *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp 321, 332, for an account of the rebellion of Rāja Jai Singh The date of the battle is given there as September, 1708, which would correspond to the latter half of Jumāda II or earlier half of Rajab, 1120 A H

³ See Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p 19

⁴ Perhaps it should be Bhik, as in Khāfī Khān, II, p 864

Verse

The madman is pleased when he sees a madman

In his state of rapture he occasionally said true things and thus increased Husain Khān's respect for him

The Batakza'is are descended from Shaikh Batak, and he, according to all, was the son of Khwēshgī. Some make him the grandson of the Shaikh-ul-Islām Shaikh Maudūd Chishtī, but according to the disciple Wattū Shūriyānī¹ Batak is sprung from Wattū. He is known as the great Pīr (*Pīr Kabir*). Shūriyān was the name of his father who was the son of Khwēshgī. Batak had three sons, Wattū, Husain, and Khalaf. The first was seized by the attraction of Divine love. He went forth to seek his teacher, and when after surmounting many difficulties he came to the town of Chusht (in Khurāsān) he entered the service of Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī, with whom Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Sanjarī (the Ajmēr Saint)—May his grave be holy!—is connected through two generations. His wishes were gratified there, and he remained long in the service of the saint. He regarded that place as his real home, but when the Khwāja died, Wattū returned to his native country. Many of the hill-men, and all the Khwēshgīs and the Jamand² (tribe) became his adherents. One of his perfect disciples was Shaikh Batak, who was his father's brother and one of the pious men of the age. He (apparently Wattū) uttered a prayer in reference to him to the effect that till the Day of Judgment his descendants might be masters of knowledge and holiness. Accordingly³ many of this branch have been masters of perfection, and the clan is also known as the *Pīrzādagī*.

They say, that Pīr Wattū's dress was black, and that when Shaikh Batak attained the highest degree of sainthood, Wattū gave him his own clothes and adopted white for himself. Hence it is that the Batakza'is regard everything black as blessed while the Watūza'is regard it as unfortunate. The standard of the Khwēshgīs is black and white, in memory of the two saints.

In short, Husain Khān beat the drum of independence in the town of Qasūr and its neighbourhood, and said nothing to the leading *jāgirdārs* or to their inferiors but what savoured of arrogance and presumption. At last Bahādur Shāh came to Lāhōre and set up his abode there. Afterwards there occurred contentions among the royal princes. Husain Khān did not refrain from commotion and fighting—which were inevitable at such a time—and carried on his evil practices. When in the beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign the government of the Panjāb fell into the hands of 'Abd-us-Samad Khān Dilēr Jang, he opened communications of sincerity and harmony with the Khān and came to Lāhōre to interview him. He also entrusted to him the *faujdarī* of Lakhī Jangal. This only increased Husain's arrogance and his turbulence was augmented. When the governor perceived that Husain swallowed up the revenues of Lakhī Jangal, as he had done those of Qasūr, and rendered no accounts and

¹ Perhaps Shūrbānī. The MSS seem to have a *b* instead of a *y*.

² Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 402. See Bellew, *loc cit.*, p. 19, where the word is spelt *Zamand*.

³ See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 777, for an account of a descendant of the Khwēshgīs.

HUSAIN KHÂN TUKRIYĀ

(Vol I, pp 551-554)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Mahdī Qāsum Khān¹ In the beginning of his career he was a servant of Bairām Khān Khānān When in the second year of his reign Akbar, after the capture of Mānkōt, stayed four months and four days in Lāhōre for the arrangement of affairs in that province, and in Safr 965 A H proceeded to Delhi, Husain Khān was appointed as the governor of Lāhōre One day he, while transacting public business there, saluted a long-bearded Hindū under the impression that he was a Muhammadan After that he passed an order that Hindūs should sew a badge² (*ghiyārī*) on their dress near the shoulder, and that, with a *kasr* under the first letter, is a yellow patch which the Jews used to wear on their shoulders for distinguishing themselves This in Hindī is called *tukrī* Consequently he became known by the name of the Tukriyā (the patcher) At the time when Akbar became alienated from Bairām Khān, and the latter's soldiers left him and joined the royal stirrups in the town of Jhūjhar, no person of influence remained with him except Husain Khān Tukriyā and Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram After Bairām Khān was overthrown, Husain Khān entered the Emperor's service In the 11th year, when Mahdī Qāsum Khān became disgusted with the government of Garh and went off by the route of the Deccan to the Hijāz, Husain Khān escorted him for part of the way When, as he was returning, he came to the town of Satwās (not Santwās)³ in Mālwa, the commotion of the rebel Mīrzās took place Husain Khān was obliged to take shelter in the town along with Muqarrab Khān who was the *Tiyūldār* there When Muqarrab Khān⁴ hastily gave up the struggle Husain Khān came out and waited upon Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, but did not agree to take up service under him, though urged to do so In the 12th year, when Akbar proceeded to extirpate Khān Zāmān Shaibānī, he served under him, and as there was then a brisk market of appreciation, and as the King was impressed by his courage, good service and zeal, he encompassed him with varied favours And though he did not know how to manage⁵ any complicated affairs he was raised to the high position of an Amīr and received the rank of 3,000 Inasmuch as the world's wine overthrows men, and a narrow capacity

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp 199-202 Husain Khān quarrelled with Mahdī Qāsum when the latter on his return from the Hijāz was granted Lucknow as his fief

² The text has 'iyayārī عياري, and there is the variant *ghubārī*, but the true reading is *ghiyārī*, *ghiyār* being the Arabic word for a badge, such as is worn by the Jews, etc., see Lane's *Dictionary*, p 2316 The *Maāthir* has taken the passage from Badāyūnī, Text, II, p 223, see Lowe's translation, II, p 227, where the word is explained and spelt by the author The Jew colour mark was yellow, but apparently all that Husain ordered was that it was to be of a different colour from the rest of the stuff Badāyūnī says that Husain by mistake rose up to greet the Hindū

³ The chief town of Nemāwar, Indore District, *vide Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p 134

⁴ In the text *dastbāgha*, but the variant *dastpācha* is adopted here

⁵ The meaning of the text is rather obscure Blochmann has "His contingent was not ready" The literal translation seems to be He did not know how to manage a number of men The words are from *Albarnāma*, Text, III, p 143.

cannot digest it, he could not control himself. He practised violence and oppression in his fief and exceeded his powers. When, in the 19th year, the royal standards moved to the Eastern districts, his misfortune kept him back from that service. One day Akbar inquired about him and asked why he was not present. It was represented that he had been seized with a frenzy, and that he was employing himself in attacking and plundering the peasantry. As there was work in hand, no one was sent to chastise him, but measures were taken to confiscate his fief. After the conquest of Patna and Hājīpūr, when Akbar was returning towards Āgra, Husain Khān came to the camp, but was not admitted to an interview. In his madness he bade adieu to worldly affairs, and chose to be a *qalandar*. Royal favour again succoured him and an arrow¹ from the royal quiver was given to him in order that by this he may take possession of the fief which had been made crown-land, and address himself to the collection of recruits. When for this purpose he obtained leave from the Presence, he, in his madness, resumed his blameworthy practices and plundered and ravaged the country. One day he came to Basantpūr belonging to Kumāōn, as its mines and prosperity had excited his fancy. As the forehead of the final affairs of evil-doers is marked with failure, he fought a battle without organization and was defeated, and wounded by a bullet. Previous to this Sādiq Khān had been despatched to put a stop to his commotions. Though his severe wound had already brought him to his senses to some extent, the fame of the victorious army (of Akbar) made him still more sensible, and all the vagabonds left him. Through the efforts of his well-wishers it appeared to him that the proper course was to betake himself by boat from Garh Muktesār² and present himself before Mun'im Khān Khānān. Perhaps by his mediation his offences might be covered with the scarf of lenience. Active men came to the town of Mārharā,³ and laid hands on him, and in accordance with orders he was taken to Āgra and put into⁴ his (own?) house in the year, 983 A.H., where he died of his wound. His son, Yūsuf Khān,⁵ was included among the Amīrs in the time of Jahāngīr.

(KHĀN⁶ JAHĀN) HUSAIN QULI BĒG

(Vol I, pp 645-653)

He was the sister's son of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān. His father, Walī Bēg Dhūl Qadr, in the time of Bairām Khān's prosperity had fine *jāgīrs* and was supreme over all other officers. In the battle at the town of Dikdār Jālandhar, which took place between Bairām Khān and Shams-

¹ See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 99

² In Meerut District, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 162

³ In the text Bārāh, but *Al-barnāma*, Text, III, p. 144, has Mārharā and the variant Bārharā. Mārharā in Etah district appears to be correct.

⁴ According to Lowe's translation of *Muntalhab ul Tawārīkh*, II, p. 224, he was placed in Sādiq Khān's house.

⁵ Yūsuf Khān died in 1621 A.D., in the 18th year of Jahāngīr, vide Roger and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzūl-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p. 202. He had become extremely stout and died suddenly after paying his respects to Shāh Jahān. The author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* apparently did not know the 2nd volume of *Tūzūl*.

⁶ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 348-351.

ud-Dīn Khān Atka, he was wounded and made a prisoner, and afterwards died of his wounds Akbar, who knew that all the turmoil and confusion of Bairām Khān was due to his instigation, had his head cut off and sent to the Eastern Provinces Husain Qulī Bēg, who was of sound judgment and good sense, was sent by Khān-Khānān with the insignia of his office at the time when the King's mind was alienated from him, to the Presence from Mēwāt, in the hope that he might by submission and supplication achieve something At the same time, the departure of Khān-Khānān to the Panjāb, which was an indication of sedition and rebellion, became known Accordingly Husain Qulī was put in charge of Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd who was the governor of Delhī, to be treated compassionately, and to see that no harm came to him After the termination of the affair of Bairām Khān, Husain Qulī Khān was released, and was always treated with favour in view of his loyalty and services In the 8th year, 971, when Mīrẓā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ahrārī fled from the Court without cause, Akbar gave Husain Qulī Bēg the title of Khān and the fiefs of Ajmēr and Nāgōr in supersession of the Mīrẓā and sent him to pursue the latter As the Mīrẓā left the imperial territories without fighting, Husain Qulī Khān without difficulty took possession of the fiefs and arranged for their settlement In a short time he took the fort of Jōdhpūr, which was the residence of Rāi Māldēv—who was distinguished from the other Rājas of India by splendour and by the number of his followers—and which after his death was the seat of his younger son, Chandar Sēn During the siege of Chittōr, Husain Qulī Khān displayed great energy in pursuing Rānā Uday Singh, and was thanked and praised

When in the 13th year, the officers of the Atka Khāl were summoned to the Presence from the Panjāb, the government of that territory, which is one of the great domains of the empire, was given to Husain Qulī Khān But on account of the emergence of the affair of Ranthambhōr, he did not leave Akbar and acquired glory by being attached to the stirrups of victory After the fort was taken and Akbar had gone to Āgra, he obtained leave to look after his estates In the 17th¹ year, he went to take the fort of Nagarkōt which was in the possession of Rāja Jai Chand, and whose son Badī Chand, after his father was imprisoned, regarded himself as his father's successor, and believing the latter to be dead, became rebellious When he came near Dhamtūrī² Janū (?), the governor of the place became suspicious on account of his relationship to Jai Chand and withdrew But he sent agents and undertook to provide guides The Khān left a party of his men to form a guard (*thānadārī*) in the village on the road and pressed forward When he came to the fort of Kōtlah (or Kūtilah)—which was a sky-high fortress—he discharged some cannon from the top of a hill which was over against the fort and terrified the besieged At night they took to flight Inasmuch as this fort was formerly the property of Rāja Anam Chand, the Rāja of

¹ The 18th year according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, De's translation, II, p 398, but it really was the 17th, vide *Albarnāma*, Text, II, p 370, and Beveridge's translation, II, p 538 The siege, however, lasted till the 18th year, vide *Albar nāma*, Text, III, p 36 and Beveridge's translation, III, p 51

² Damhari, Elliot, V, p 357, where the name of the governor is given as Choto Perhaps the word is Janūha, or Janūa, which is the name of a Rājput caste It is Janūū in De's text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, II, p 257

Gwāliyār¹, and Rāja Rām Chand, the grandfather of Jai Chand, had forcibly taken it, he made it over to the Rāja of Gwāliyār, who was a descendant of Anam Chand, and established his own *thāna*. And, as there was such an amount of forest that it was difficult for the army to proceed, he sent light infantry² each day to cut down the jungle sufficient for a march. On 1st Rajab 980 A H, the army encamped at Nagarkōt. At the first onset they took the fort of Bhawan where the idol-temple of Mahāmā'i was, and a great number of Rājpūts and Brahmans, who in the hope of acquiring merit stood firm, were sent to destruction. After that the wall outside of Nagarkōt was also taken and *sābāt* (covered ways) and batteries (*sarkōb*) were made. Every day buildings were demolished by the cannon and animals³ (?) were killed. While Rāja Budai Chand was eating, a large cannon was discharged so that about eighty men were killed under the wall.

In short, the business of the fort was nearly finished, when suddenly the commotion of the approach of the rebellious Mirzās, Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā and Mas'ūd Mirzā, stirred up the province of the Panjāb. There was also a great scarcity in the army. Consequently Husain Quli Khān was helpless, and made peace on receiving five maunds of gold as tribute and much stuff, and laid the foundation of a mosque in front of the house of Rāja Jai Chand, and in two days raised it up to the portico. On Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl of the same year, after reciting the *Khutba* in the King's name, Husain Quli Khān departed from that place. In company with Ismā'il Quli Khān and Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Radavi he hastened after the rebels. In the town of Talandah (or Talam-bah), forty *kos* from Multān, he came upon them without warning, and a battle took place between them. Ibrāhīm Husain was defeated and fled to Multān and Muḥammad Husain with some companions was seized. Husain Quli Khān, in the 18th year, 981 A H, when Akbar returned to Āgra after the conquest of Gujarāt, and the officers came from all quarters to offer their congratulations, produced Mas'ūd Husain with his eyes sewn up and other prisoners dressed up in the skins of cattle—from which the horns had not been removed. They presented a strange appearance. The King out of extreme kindness and gentleness caused the eyes of the Mirzā to be opened and granted many of the prisoners their lives. Husain Quli Khān was raised to high office, and got the title of Khān Jahān, than which there was no higher title in the empire except that of Khān-Khānān. When Mirzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, took refuge at the Court from the oppression of his grandson, Mirzā Shāhrukh, an order was given to Khān Jahān to proceed with the brave army of the Panjāb in company with the Mirzā to Badakhshān and to place the old ruler on the *masnad* of that country. Meanwhile, in the 20th year 983 A H, Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, the *Ṣubadār* of Bengāl, died and there was a great commotion in that country. The officers of the auxiliary force became frightened of the pestilential air

¹ This is not the Gwalior in Central India, but a hill state in the Panjab. It is the Gwal of the *Imperial Gazetteer* XII, p. 310. It is spelt Gwāliūr in the *Tarikh-i Akbari* Des. Text II, p. 257 and translation II, p. 400.

² *Hastace*, see Vulliamy I, p. 620. The account is apparently based on *Tarikh-i Akbari* Des. Text, II, pp. 257-259 and translation II, pp. 400-401.

³ *Jār* may mean either to refer to the number of sacred cows that were killed.

of the country, and to this was added the domination of Dā'ūd the Afghān—who claimed the sovereignty of the country, and who now broke his treaty and again raised the head of commotion. The officers at once left their stations and departed from the country. As it is a leading principle of Akber that urgent matters should have preference to other affairs, the King hurriedly summoned Khān Jahān from the Panjāb and made him the *Sūbadār* of Bengal. He sent along with him Rāja Tōdar Mal, who was distinguished for courage and ability, and who had done brilliant acts in the province. The Bengāl officers met Khān Jahān at Bhāgalpūr, and some of them objected about the climate and were loath to return, while others made the difference of religion a pretext, and indulged in foolish talk. Khān Jahān, who had assumed the rôle of a veteran commander, did not yield and by means of soothing and kindness laboured to restore unanimity, and though most of the officers were Chaghtā'is and unwilling to submit to a Qazalbāsh (Persian), he, by a little exertion, liberated Garhī, which is the gateway of Bengāl, and recovered the lost territory as far as Tānda. He made constant endeavours to compose the disorders. Dā'ūd Khān Kararānī strengthened Ākmahal (Rājmaḥal) and planted himself in front of the royal forces. There was a battle every day, but, though Khān Jahān and Rāja Tōdar Mal made great efforts, the work did not advance owing to want of zeal on the part of the men. One day Khwāja 'Abdullāh Naqshbandī went out from his battery with some followers and offered battle. A large body of the enemy advanced to fight, and the Khwāja's companions did not support him. He, from nobility of nature, stood firm, and played away the coin of his life. When this news reached Akbar, he was grieved and sent an order to Muzaffar Khān, the governor of Bihār, quickly to join the Bengāl army with the fiefholders of Bihār. As soon as, in 984 A.H., Muzaffar Khān joined with the Bihār troops, Khān Jahān arranged his forces and made ready for battle. By chance on the night that was pregnant with victory, a cannon-ball from the imperial camp reached the *chahārpāy* (bedstead) on which Junaid Kararānī, Dā'ūd's paternal uncle, was sleeping and broke his leg. After that there was a hot engagement, and Kālā Pahār, the leader of the enemy's right wing, was wounded and fled. The battle had not reached the centre when a stone of dispersal fell among the Afghāns and they gave way and fled. Many were slain by the pursuing heroes. Dā'ūd wanted to retire, but his horse got stuck in a bog and he was made a prisoner. When he was brought before Khān Jahān, the latter asked him what had become of the oaths and treaties he had made with Khān-Khānān. He had the impudence to say that it was a temporary agreement¹, and that a fresh one might now be made. Khān Jahān ordered that he should be relieved of the weight of his plotting head, and immediately sent his head to Akbar by Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān. The latter had been sent post haste to Khān Jahān to convey the good news of the victory of Cōcanda which Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha had gained over the Rānā, and also to announce Akbar's march to the officers of the Eastern Provinces. At the time of dismissing him Akbar had said that

¹ The text has *zabānī* or verbal, but the variant *zamānī* or temporary appears to be more correct. See also *Albarnāma*, Text, III, p. 182, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 255.

as he was taking this good news, he should also bring back the good tidings of the conquest of Bongāl. Saivid 'Abdullāh Khān returned in eleven days at the time when the King was setting out from Fathpūr and flung the sedition-monger's head into the *Jalaukhāna* (yard for horses). There was a great shout, and bulletins of the victory were sent to various quarters of the empire. After this conspicuous victory Khān Jahān sent Rāja Tōdar Mal to the Court, and went himself to Satgāon where Dā'ūd's family was. Jamshūd, who belonged to his clan, resisted him, and met with a great defeat, and Dā'ūd's mother and her associates submitted. That country which of old had been called *Bulghāl Khāna* (house of strife) because it was never free from commotion, became by the genius and courage of Khān Jahān again a place of tranquillity. Rāja Mal Gosā'in, the Zamīndār of Kūch (Cooch Behār) also submitted and the Khān Jahān sent as tribute the rarities of that country together with 54 noted elephants. As some Afghāns were making a disturbance in the Bhatī country, and 'Isā Zamīndār there showed signs of disaffection, Khān Jahān proceeded to that quarter in the 23rd year, and sent a large army ahead. After severe fighting 'Isā was defeated and fled, and the Afghāns submitted. Khān Jahān having attained the objects of his wishes returned to Sihhatpūr which was a city he had founded near Tānda, and raised up the flag of joy and success. Every day, however, ends in sorrow and every perfection ends in loss.

I csc

No good fortune is perfectly conformable to desire,
When the book is completed, the page must be turned.

So Khān Jahān in a short time lay on the bed of sickness for one and a half months. Indian doctors did not understand the case and applied improper remedies. In the same year, 986 A H, December, 1578, A D, he died. He was a Panjhazūrī among Akbar's nobles. His son, Radā Qulī¹, in the 47th year, was raised to the rank of 500 with 300 horse.

(MIR) HUSĀM-UD-DĪN

(Vol III, pp 323, 324)

He was a real pearl. By origin he was from Badakhshān, but he was born and nourished on the sacred soil of Hindūstān. His father, Qādi Nizām Badakhshī², who was exalted to the ranks of Amīrs in the reign of Akbar, was honoured with the title of Qādi Khān. And later, as he showed a marked talent in the battles and crusades against the infidels he was granted the title of Ghāzī Khān, accordingly his biography has been written down in its proper place (Text, II, pp 857-862). The Mīr, as he was highly versed in the details of etiquette, was given a high place of trust amongst the officials. He was married to the sister of the

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 351, in the account of Khān Jahān.

² For his life, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 488, 489.

famous 'Allāmi Shaikh Abūl Fadl During the time when, on appointment, he went to the Deccan, the instrument of his companionship became attuned with that of Khān-Khānān Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, and, as a result, his fortune woke up from the sleep of forgetfulness, and eternal wealth came to his doors Suddenly ardent Divine fervour cut short his worldly attachments, in the height of his youth he gave up all connections with his relations, and cutting out luxury and lust from his life, wanted to separate himself from Khān-Khānān The latter, however, had developed such regard for him that he was not likely to give him up, and so he feigned insanity in the hope that he would thus be left to himself Afterwards he proposed to go to Delhī and spend the rest of his life at the feet of Mirzā Sultān-ul-Mashā'ikh¹ Although Khān-Khānān tried his best by entreaty and urging, and advised and cajoled him in all possible ways, it proved useless Next he started wandering in the streets and bāzārs, and stripping himself smeared his body with dust and mud Khān-Khānān accompanied by other Amirs went and brought him back to his own house and started to counsel him afresh, he consoled and comforted him, but received no answer When, as a result of a representation from Khān-Khānān, the news reached the royal ears, he (Husām-ud-Dīn) was permitted to retire to Delhī His wife also cutting off all connections with her brothers and relations at the behest of her husband gave away to darvishes all cash and property that she possessed It is stated that he spent thirty years in retirement And twelve thousand² rupees used to be sent annually by Khān-Khānān for the expenses of his *Khānqah* After becoming a darvish he never read a book Most of his time he spent in reciting and repeating the word of God Every month he finished fifteen readings of the Qur'ān In the end he became a disciple of the well-known Sayyid Khwāja Bāqī Billah of Samarqand, who was born in Kābul He, on being initiated and confirmed by him, and with his permission, occupied himself in following the holy commands and initiating and guiding the young followers along the right path till he departed for the other world.

(MIR) HUSĀM-UD-DĪN ANJŪ, MURTADĀ KHĀN

(Vol III, pp 382-384)

He was the son of Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Add-ud-Daula His brother Amin-ud-Dīn became the son-in-law of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khān-Khānān, and so acquired distinction He died young Mir Husām-ud-Dīn married the sister³ of Ahmad Bēg Khān, the brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, and by this glorious alliance received high honours He strove much to oblige and please that chaste lady Whenever on

¹ Apparently Nizām-ud Dīn Auliā of Delhī For his life, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), p 211

² Blochmann, *op cit*, p 489, states that Rs 12,000 was given by his wife "as allowance for the cell of her husband", but the allowance was apparently paid by Khān-Khānān

³ She was the daughter of Nūr Jahān Bēgam's uncle, see *Tūzūk i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation) II, p 277

HUSĀM UD-DĪN KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 584-587)

Mirzā Husām-ud-Dīn Ḥasān was the grandson of Muḥammad Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Āṣaf Khān. His father was Nizām-ud-Dīn ‘Alī. He was a careless man of pleasure, and in his youth he lived a thoroughly independent life. In consequence of the relationship which his family had with Yamin-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh, he, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, became active in the King's service and served in various capacities in the Deccan. In the 15th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and became *Bālshī* of the Deccan. Though from trustworthiness and disinterestedness he mixed freely with men, yet his prudence and ability enabled him to conduct himself so well that he was much praised. The governors of the Deccan treated him with honour. Khān Daurān Nasrat Jang was instrumental in his advancement and impressed upon

¹ *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 210, and *Tūẓuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *op. cit.*, pp. 277, 278.

² He received the title of Murtadā Khān and the rank mentioned from Shāh Jahān in Jahāngīr's lifetime, see *Tūẓuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *loc. cit.*, p. 278.

Shāh Jahān his skill and honesty In the 18th year, he obtained the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse and the title of Khān In the 21st year, he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was then relieved of the *Bakhshiship* and made the governor of the fort of Ūdgīr As he had already a reputation for knowledge and skill, he now wished to get one for courage, and so stretched out the arm of resolution and distinguished himself by overthrowing the turbulent and rebellious up to the borders of Gōlconda He emerged from the position of clerkship and became a leader, and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse In the 30th year, he was removed from the governorship of Ūdgīr and made *faujdār* of Telngāna in succession to Hādī Dād Khān Ansārī

It is not known when he was made governor of Berār, except that in the *Mirāt-ul-‘Ālām* it is stated that after the accession of Aurangzīb and when that fortunate Prince crossed the Bīyās in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, the governorship of Berār was given to Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān entitled Ikhtisās Khān in succession to Husām-ud-Dīn Khān, and that the *faujdārī* of Bījāgarh was given to the latter The year of his death does not appear (in any work)

Though Husām-ud-Dīn was busy with worldly affairs, he always spent his days in pleasure and sport, and never crossed the path of care and sorrow He was much skilled in music and could extemporise (verses) Though he did not apply himself to the acquisition of science, yet from frequent intercourse with learned men he was acquainted with every science so that at the time of exposition he was never at a loss He wrote beautifully with the handwriting of a master, and was unequalled as a composer of distiches (*qif’a navīsī*) He was also much given to hunting He had many children, and good sons The eldest, Mīrzā Nī‘mat Ullāh, was the most famous of the brothers He was with Aurangzīb when the latter marched to assume sovereignty, and after the accession he received the title of Suhrāb Khān, and obtained the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse, and was made *faujdār* of Bālāpūr in Berār and went off to the Deccan He was always favoured on account of his services at the Court and in the provinces His son, Mīrzā ‘Āqibat Maḥmūd Sazāwār Khān, after having been the *faujdār* of Aland¹ and Telinga, was appointed to guard the fort of Bīdar, but on account of weak eye-sight he was removed in the time of Bahādur Shāh He died in Burhānpūr His son, Mīr Nizām-ud-Dīn ‘Alī Husām Ullāh Khān spent a long time as the governor of the fort of Ūdgīr, and in the days of the mismanagement of the *Sūbadārs* confronted the rebels of that country, who were a tribe known as Bīdar (Bēdars²) with a *Hindī dāl* (d) His grown-up sons were killed in those engagements Afterwards his young son obtained the father's title and was at the time of writing governor of the same fort As he has hereditary courage and hardihood, and though the vagabond tribe of the Mahrattas has increased its oppression on every side, yet the turbulent ones of his neighbourhood are in awe of him In truth, he, at this time, does credit to his ancestors It is also owing to the virtues of the deceased Husām-ud-Dīn that though more than a hundred years have elapsed his family still maintains its position

¹ In Gulbarga district, Haidarābād

² Described in Meadows Taylor's novel *Tara*

I

(SHAIKH) IBRĀHĪM (son of SHAIKH MŪSĀ)

(Vol II, pp 570-572)

He was the brother's¹ son of Shaikh Salīm Sikrī Shaikh Mūsā was one of the good men of the time, and lived like a hermit in the town of Sikrī—which is four² (1) *kos* from Akbarābād, and is the place where Akbar built a fort and founded a city, which he called Fathpūr—and passed his days in asceticism and worship. As the children of Akbar did not live, he sought the help of the darvīshes, and also made his supplications to Shaikh Salīm. During this time the mother of Sultān Salīm became pregnant and this increased Akbar's respect for the Shaikh. Near the Shaikh's residence he made a place for her confinement, and in it a prince was born and named after the Shaikh. Accordingly also the sons and connections of the Shaikh got promotion in this reign.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was for a long time attached to the princes, and served in the capital. In the 22nd year, he was with some other brave men employed in the *thānadārī* of Lādlā'ī³ in chastising the rebellious elements of that place. In the 23rd year, he was made governor of Fathpūr,⁴ and in the 28th year, he was appointed to assist Khān A'zam Kōka. He did good service in subduing Bēngāl, and with Vazīr Khān took part in the putting down of Qutlū, who had rebelled in Orīssa. In the 29th year, he came to the Court, and in the 30th year, when Akbar after the death of Mīrzā Hakīm purposed to march to Kābul, Ibrāhīm was left in charge of Āgra. He served long in that capacity. In the 36th year, 999 A H (1590 A D) he died. His shrewdness and abilities impressed the Emperor. He was an Amīr of the rank of 2,000.

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 295-301)

He was the eldest son of the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān⁵. In the 26th year, 1063 A H, he received from Shāh Jahān the title

¹ The text makes Ibrāhīm the brother of Shaikh Salīm, but the description really refers to Ibrāhīm's father Mūsā who was Salīm's elder brother. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p 439, and Translation II, p 666, describes him as the son in law and nephew (sister's son) of Shaikh Salīm Sikrīwāl. Shaikh Ibrāhīm's death is recorded in the *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 596, Beveridge's translation, III, p 908, note 7, and *Muntalhab ut Tawārīkh*, Text II, pp 374, 375, Lowe's Translation II, p 387. He died at Fathpūr. Badāyūnī gives him a poor character and says the chronogram of his death is Shaikh La'im vīle Shaikh. This, as Lowe remarks, yields 1,000, which is one too much. Perhaps Badāyūnī wrote Shaikh Ya'fīm—the orphan Shaikh. The other chronogram given by Badāyūnī, *Dhamīm ul auṣāf*—base of disposition, gives the correct date 999. According to Badāyūnī, Ibrāhīm left 25 lakhs in cash.

² So in original, but this is clearly a mistake for twelve which is the number of *kos* mentioned in the notice of Shaikh Ahmad, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p 554, Beveridge's Translation, p 169.

³ *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 220, where the word is Lawālālī. Beveridge in the Translation III, p 309, has translated it as above, and commented on its location.

⁴ See *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 236, Beveridge's Translation III, p 337, where the appointment is described as government of the Metropolitan province.

⁵ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp 795-807. Beveridge's translation, pp 186-194.

of Khān as a mark of favour and grace. When his father died in the 31st year, he was granted the rank of 4,000, with 3 000 horse. In the battle of Sāmūgarh, he was in the right wing of Dārā Shukōh's army, and after the defeat, from inexperience and short-sightedness thought his best course was to become a partisan of Prince Murād Bakshī. The presumptuous Prince in his folly coined money and read the *Khutba* in his own name in Gujarāt on receipt of the news of illness of Shāh Jahān and took the name of Murrawwiy-ud-Dīn¹ (Dispenser of religion) and fancied himself as the absolute king. The fictitious flatteries of 'Ālamgīr and the false promises of that consummate master, who conducted himself so cleverly towards that raw novice on account of the circumstances of the time, increased his natural ignorance. Though after the battle with Dārā Shukōh and the disposition of Shāh Jahān and the cessation of his authority, the reins of power fell naturally into the strong hands of 'Ālamgīr, but Murād Bakshī in the intoxication of folly and ignorance did not arrive at the truth, and by the distribution of titles,² and increase by fifty per cent in appointments and emoluments, and various other allurements enticed the royal (Shāh Jahān's) servants to his side and a large number gathered round him. Aurangzīb became alarmed at this assemblage, and because of the extravagant proceedings of that dolt and simpleton, he, in the guise of friendship, put an end to all his schemes.

1. 2. 3.

When death comes to the game it goes toward the hunter

On the 4th¹ Shawwāl 1068 A.H. (5th July 1658 A.D.) he had gone hunting when² suddenly Aurangzib represented that he had a pain in his stomach and felt uneasy, and sent word to this effect to Murād on the hunting ground. Murād did not see the deception, and turned his rein and came to Aurangzib's camp. Aurangzib received him with respect, and took him to his private apartments and held a feast. After the carpet of enjoyment had been spread, it was arranged that after the feast they would consider the state affairs. Murād in complete unconcern divested himself of his weapons and went to sleep. Aurangzib went to the female apartments and sent some domestics who took away the arms³ (of Murād). At this time Shaikh Mir who was lying in wait, came with a number of men. When Murād was awakened by the clash of weapons he saw that there was a new state of things. He heaved a sigh and said, 'To play the game of deceit with a straightforward fellow like me and not to respect the Qur'ān was improper.' Aurangzib who was standing behind the curtain replied, 'In reality there has been no breach of promises. The life of that brother (yourself) is safe, but some vagabonds have gathered round you and crooked ways and evil living have come to a head. It is proper that for some days, you should keep in retirement.'⁴ At the same time he imprisoned him and sent him to the Capital (i.e. Delhi) along with Dilār Khān and Shaikh Mir Shahbāz Khān the eunuch, who held a commission of 5000 and was at the head of Murād's establishment was arrested with two or three other confidential men who were with him. When his army knew that the thing was at an end they were helpless and joined the King's army and were treated with favour. Ibrāhīm Khān rubbed⁵ his forehead in

¹ 2nd in the text but 4th according to *Ālamgirnāma* p. 138, and Khāfi Khān, II, p. 38. On p. 131 of *Ālamgirnāma* 2nd Shawwāl is mentioned as the day when Aurangzib encamped opposite Mathurā and celebrated the 'Id a second time—4th Shawwāl, therefore would be the probable date and this is adopted in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 222, see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 431-434.

² The text is rather obscure.

³ In *Sā'ir ul-Yarāq* *Sā'ir* probably means all. The Shaikh Mir here mentioned is the Shaikh Mir Khawāfi of *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*. Text II, pp. 668-670.

⁴ Khāfi Khān II, p. 38 discreetly passes over as unnecessary to be detailed, the manner of Murād Baksh's capture. See Catrou who mentions Ibrāhīm Khān as one of the honest servants who tried to prevent Murād Baksh from going to Aurangzib's camp, p. 292. The eunuch Shahbāz is the Chah Abas of Bernier. According to Manucci I, p. 303, he was strangled in the night and a little before Murād Baksh was awakened and fettered. Bernier's account is different. Though Khāfi Khān declines to narrate the precise way in which Murād was entrapped and arrested, he is full of admiration for the skilfulness of Aurangzib's arrangements, and especially for the device of sending off four elephants with haudahs in different directions so as to prevent Murād Baksh's well-wishers from knowing which haudah contained him! Perhaps the best and fairest account of Murād Baksh's capture is that given in *Ishar Dās's Futūhāt 'Ālamgiri* p. 29, see Rieu's *Catalogue* I, p. 269 MS Add 23.884. Murād Baksh may have stayed in Agra to recover from his wounds.

⁵ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 39.

shame But about the same period he, for reasons, was deprived¹ of his appointment, and was allowed a yearly pension in the Capital In the second year, he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed to the government of Kashmīr After the death of Khalīl Ullāh Khān, he was appointed governor of Lāhōre In the 11th year, he was made governor of Bihār in place of Lashkar Khān In the 19th year, he left service and went into retirement In the 21st year he was appointed² (again) to the government of Kashmīr in the place of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān and after that he was made governor of the extensive territory of Bengāl When, in the 41st year, the government of that province fell to Prince Muḥammad 'Azīm,³ the second son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, he was appointed, in place of Sīpāhdār Khān, as the governor of Allahābād After that, he was made governor of Lāhōre, and, in the 44th year, when that province was assigned to Prince Shāh 'Ālam, he was appointed to Kashmīr, the climate of which area suited him In the 46th year, he was appointed to make the settlement of the province of Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt) in place of the agents of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, who, at his own request, had been summoned to the Court After the departure (of A'zam Shāh), and as there would be some delay in Ibrāhīm's arrival, Prince Bīdār Bakht (A'zam Shāh's son), the governor of Mālwa, was appointed to protect Gujarāt After Ibrāhīm Khān had arrived at Aḥmadābād and before he had been firmly seated there (lit had not made the seat warm) and when the Prince (Bīdār Bakht), who was expecting his coming, had not yet left the city, the news came of the death of Aurangzib They say that Ibrāhīm Khān, who regarded himself as an A'zamshāhī (partizan of A'zam Shāh) immediately sent a message of congratulation to the Prince (Bīdār Bakht) Bīdār Bakht said in reply,⁴ "We know the worth of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh What advantage is it that for a while heaven has proved favourable to us? Now men will know to what a madman the management of affairs is coming" After Bahādur Shāh became the King, Muḥammad 'Azīm-ush-Shān⁵ on account of having been displeased⁶ with Ibrāhīm's conduct in Bengāl wished to do him

¹ Khāfī Khān, II, p 41, where it is stated he resigned and was granted a pension of Rs 5,000 a month See also *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p 158 Ibrāhīm warned Murād against trusting Aurangzib, Manucci, I, p 301

² *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp 163, 236 It appears from Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p 324, that Ibrāhīm was appointed to Bengal in 1688, i e, 1100 A H, in the 32nd year of the reign

³ In the text A'zam, but the variant 'Azīm is correct

⁴ This is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, p 567, but the remark about a madman's succession is not there Khāfī Khān was then in company with Muḥammad Murād, the reporter for Gujarāt It was Muḥammad Murād who was sent by Ibrāhīm Khān to announce to Bīdār Bakht the death of his grandfather, etc See also Elliot, VII, p 388, where there is a mistake about Ibrāhīm Khān It was Bīdār Bakht who was told to wait at the Mālwa frontier Khāfī Khān says that if A'zam Shāh had not been suspicious of his son and had not prevented him from going at once to Āgra, A'zam Shāh might have been successful

⁵ 2nd son of Bahādur Shāh

⁶ *Basabab nā Khushī Bangāla*, the statement is concise and obscure What it refers to is that Ibrāhīm Khān did not manage well in Bengāl, for he was too lenient and did not show vigour in putting down Rahīm Khān See the account of his administration in Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p 328 *et seq* and in the *Riyāḍ us-Salātīn*, p 223 *et seq* It appears from Stewart and the *Riyāḍ* that 'Azīm ush Shān

a mischief The Khān-Khānān (Mun'im Khān) having regard for his family and his services, and in his absence interceded (on his behalf) So an order came from the Court appointing Ibrāhīm Khān to the government of Afghānistān, and conferring on him the title of 'Alī Mardān Khān Ibrāhīm Khān hastened to Peshāwar and there took up his abode But he could not govern the province in the way that it should have been administered, and accordingly the governorship was transferred to Nāsir Khān Ibrāhīm Khān went to Ibrāhīmābād Sōdhara¹ which is thirty kos from Lāhōre and was regarded by him as his native country, and died there after some months His son was Zabardast Khān, who, when his father was governor of Bengāl, had led an army and fought a severe battle with Raḥīm Khān, an Afghān, who had raised the head of sedition and called himself Raḥīm Shāh The latter was completely defeated² In the 42nd year of Aurangzib, he was made the governor of Oudh and had a commission of 3,000 with 2,500 horse In the 49th year when Muḥammad A'zam Shāh left, he had the charge of Ajmēr and a commission of 4,000 with 3,000 horse Another son was Ya'qūb Khān, who in the time of Bahādūr Shāh was made the governor of Lāhōre, as the deputy of Āsaf-ud-Daula After his father's death, he had the title of Ibrāhīm Khān They say, that he presented to Shāh 'Ālam a ring from Yaman,³ the surface of which naturally bore on it the letters of the words God, Muḥammad, and 'Alī Though an examination was made to see if this was not artificial, it was proved at last that it was natural

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN FATH JANG

(Vol I, pp 135-139)

He was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula Mīrzā Ghīyāth At first he was appointed, by Jahāngīr Bakhshī and historiographer of Aḥmadābād At that time Shaikh Farīd Murtadā Khān was the *Sūbadār* and he had not allowed four (successive) Bakhshīs—who wanted to do their work according to the rules—to enter on their duties Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, by tact and studying the circumstances, did not even use the name (of Bakhshī), but every day went to pay his respects After a month the Shaikh said "Why don't you take up your duties?" The Mīrzā replied "I do not want to do any work, I only want to please the Nawwāb" The Shaikh wrote to the (i.e. his) Court-*vakīl* requesting him to write to him without suppression or addition whatever Ibrāhīm wrote to I'timād-ud-Daula As the Mīrzā wrote nothing about the Shaikh except what was favourable, the *vakīl* reported accordingly Murtadā Khān was pleased with the quietness and discretion of the Mīrzā and left the affairs of the *mansabdārs* to him and presented him a house, elephant

was jealous of Zabardast Khān, the brave son of Ibrāhīm Khān, and thwarted him Ibrāhīm Khān was too mild a governor

¹ It is West of Lāhōre on the Chenāb It is the Sodhra of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p 68

² See Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p 336 Zabardast Khān was interrupted in his career of victory by 'Azīm ush Shān.

³ *Nagīna Yamani* was perhaps a cornehan A son, Fīdā'i Khān, is also mentioned on p 236 of *Madāthir i-'Ālamgīrī* as having conquered Qariya (?) Tibet from Dildā zamīndār in the 27th year of Aurangzib, 1094 A H

and money. After two or three days he went to his house as a guest and presented him all the articles of furniture such as carpets, gold and silver vessels, etc. which he had sent from his own store. At the end of the entertainment he wrote a note (*dastagī*) to the officers of Gujarāt that they should offer a welcome (*Diynāfat*, a feast) to the Bakhshī. He put his own name down for Rs 50,000 assigned Rs 5,000 as the share of the *mansabdārs* and a lac of rupees as the share of the zamindārs. He also said to the clerks that they should immediately take the full amount to the Mīrzā from his treasury and collect it afterwards. He also wrote repeatedly to the Court (about Ibrāhīm Khān), and in the course of a year he was raised to the rank of 1,000. When I'timād-ud-Daula's family was advanced, the Mīrzā came to the Court and, in the 9th year, obtained a *mansab* of 1,500 with 300 horse and the title of Khān, and was made the Court-Bakhshī. By degrees he rose to the rank of 5,000 and got the title of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, and was appointed governor of Bengāl and Orīsa.

When in the 19th year, Prince Shāh Jahān proceeded by the route of Telingāna towards Bengāl, Ahmad Bēg Khān, the brother's son of Ibrāhīm Khān, who was the Nā'ib of Orīssa had gone to attack the zamindārs of Kōkrah¹. When he heard of Shāh Jahān's approach, he went to Pipli, which was the seat of government, and transferred his family and goods to Cuttaek which was 12 *los* distant. As he had not power to withstand Shāh Jahān he went off to Bengāl. The Prince came to Orīsa and sent a message to Ibrāhīm Khān by Iān Nithār Khān, and I'timād Khān Khwāja Idrāk to the effect, that by destiny he had come to this country, and although in the eyes of manly courage the extent of this country was no more than a practising ground (*jaulāngāh*), but as it was on his road he could not avoid a cursory view of the area. If Ibrāhīm Khān wishes to go to the Presence² (of Jahāngīr), there would be no opposition and no injury to his honour or property. Or if he likes to stay in the country he might choose any place he likes to reside in. Ibrāhīm Khān who on hearing of Shāh Jahān's expedition, had come from Dacca to Rājmahal replied that the orders of the Prince were the interpretation of the commands of God, and that his life and property were at the Prince's disposal, but that the laws of faithfulness to one's salt, and his having been nurtured by the King were obstacles in his way, and that he could not come to wait upon the Prince. Nor could he resolve upon departing and showing the face of shame to his equals and contemporaries. As the King had entrusted this country to his old servant he could not, for the sake³ of his borrowed life of no value—for it is known what remains of life—show slackness in the work of his benefactor. He was helpless and would give his head to be trodden by the hoofs of the Prince's troops. He desires that after his death the country should be given to the servants of the King. As his men were scattered, and the fort of Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) was very large, Ibrāhīm

Kh̄in went to the tomb of his son which was one *los* from the fort and on the bank of the Ganges. Formerly the fort had been on the bank of the river but now it had been for a long time at the above-mentioned distance from it. Ibrāhīm Kh̄in sought protection in the tomb which was unique in solidity and strength and where the fleet could bring auxiliaries and supplies by way of the river.

The Prince took an omen of victory from the words and acts of Ibrāhīm Kh̄in viz. that he had used the word 'death' and had gone to a tomb and took up his quarters in the city and sent his men to besiege the enclosure. Then the flames of battle arose inside and outside. Abdullāh Kh̄in Firūz Lang and Daryā Kh̄in Rohila crossed over to the other side. Ibrāhīm Kh̄in became disconcerted and with Ahmad Bēg Kh̄in—who had now joined him—he came out of the fort (i.e. the tomb) and fought. There was a great battle and Ahmad Bēg Kh̄in received several wounds. On seeing this Ibrāhīm Kh̄in could not restrain himself and galloped forward. In this onset order was lost and most of his followers fled. Ibrāhīm Kh̄in with a few stood firm and though his men wanted to remove him from such a dangerous place he would not consent and said: 'My fate does not need it, what better can there be than to give my life in my master's service.' He had not finished speaking when he was attacked on all sides and killed. As his family and goods were in Dacca Ahmad Bēg Kh̄in went there. The Prince too went there by the river and Ahmad Bēg could not but submit. About forty *hies* of ruppes besides other properties in elephants and clothes etc., fell into the hands of the Prince.¹ From that time Ahmad Bēg was an object of favour. In the last year (of Shāh Jahān) he had high rank, and became governor of Thatta and Sistān and after that he was made Governor of Multān. When he returned to the Court he received the parganas of Jās² and east Amēti in fief. There he died a natural death. Ibrāhīm Kh̄in had (i.e. left) no children. His wife was Hajī Hūr Parwar (nourished by hours) Kh̄inam who was the maternal aunt³ of Nūr Jahān Bēgum. She had a long span of life and survived till the middle of Aurangzib's reign. She had Aligarh (Kōl-Jalāhī) as her fief (*altamghā*). She lived there in repose and tranquillity till she died.

IBRĀHĪM KHĀN ŪZBEG

(Vol I pp 75-77)

He was one of the officers of Humāvūn. In the year when India was conquered, he was appointed to Lāhōre along with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī so that they might check Sikandar Sūr if he came out from the hill country and attacked the imperial territory. After that Ibrāhīm

¹ For details of Shāh Jahān's campaign in Orīssa and Bengāl, see Banarsi Prasad *History of Shahjahan* pp 48-50.

² Both parganas are in Oudh. *Imperial Gazetteer* XIII p 402 V p 292. There is an account of Ibrāhīm's battle and death in the *Riyād us Salātīn*, p 192, etc. It is taken from Muhammad Hādī's supplement to the *Tāzūl ʿi-Jahāngīrī* pp 383, etc.

³ See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), p 575, where it is stated that Ibrāhīm Kh̄in was Nūr Jahān's brother and he was married to her maternal aunt (*Kh̄āla*).

was granted the *faujdarī* of Akharnagar (Rājmahal) and was promoted to a *mansab* of 1,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 26th year, he made himself conspicuous to all by his courage in the battle with the Persians at Qandahār. When the Persian army attacked the right wing of Rustam Khān's army, most of that body became disordered. But Iftikhār Khān, at the head of a few men, remained firm, and was rewarded by receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse and so being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse and granted a flag. As his straightforwardness and zeal were deserving of reward, he, in the 25th year, at the festival of the solar wagonment, received an advance of 500 and the present of drums. When in the 27th year he was appointed to accompany Prince Dārī Shukōh in the expedition to Qandahār, he was, at the request of the Prince, given an increase of 500. In the 28th year, he was given the *tuḷdārī* and *faujdarī* of Chūrāgarh in the province of Mālwa and received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and was raised to a *mansab* of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. When in the 30th year, Prince Aurangzib, the governor of the Deccan, was directed to chastise Sultān 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, the ruler of Tehg¹ Shāyista Khān, the *Sūbadār* of Mālwa, left along with Iftikhār Khān and other *faujdar*s and *mansabdār*s attached to that province to join the Prince's army. Iftikhār Khān was, by the Prince's order (*ba amr shāhī*), appointed to the southern battery along with Hādī Dād Khān Ansārī. When that undertaking had been finished, he obtained leave to go to his fief. When, in the end of the same year, the aforesaid Prince was appointed to subdue the country of 'Aḥl Shāh the ruler of Bijāpūr. Iftikhār Khān, in accordance with the royal order, hastened from his fief and joined the Prince's army. When, in the 31st year, the Prince² arrived at Bīdar with a large army, Sīdī Marjān, the governor of the fort—who was one of the old servants of Ibrāhīm 'Aḥl Khān, and who had been guarding the fortress for thirty years—took it on himself to safeguard it. He had with him nearly 1,000 horse, and 4,000 infantry including musketeers, and grenadiers (*bāndār* lit. rocket holders) and an abundance of the munitions of war. The Prince and Mu'azzam Khān Mir Jumla, in the course of ten days, brought up the guns to the edge of the fort and destroyed a bastion. By chance, one day when an assault was made from Mu'azzam Khān's battery, the governor of the fort, who had prepared a large trench behind the said bastion and had filled it with gunpowder, rockets (*bān*) and grenades (*hugga*), was close by prepared to repel the attack, a spark reached the gunpowder and he and two of his sons were burnt. Brave men beat loudly the drum of victory and entered the city. The governor had been seized by the claws of death, but he sent his sons with the keys of the fort. Next day he died. This great fortress—which had three moats, 25 yards broad and 15 yards deep, cut in the rock—was, through the good fortune of the Prince, taken within twenty-seven days with great ease. Twelve lacs of rupees in coin, and eight lacs of rupees worth of lead, gunpowder and other munitions together with 230 guns were captured. The Prince left his second son, Sultān Muḥammad M'azzam, with Iftikhār Khān in the fort and continued his advance. The

¹ He was the ruler of Haidarābād and Gōlconda. See Khāfī Khān, I, p. 741, Aurangzib set out in 1066 A.H.

² See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 240–242.

campaign had not been fully completed when, by the royal order, the Prince and his auxiliaries had to return to his place. At the same time Mahārāja Jaswant was appointed to settle Mālwa, and all the fiefholders were directed to assist him. Iftikhār Khān out of his zeal was the first to join the Rāja. Suddenly the fateful heavens produced an event¹ which had not entered into the imagination of any one, and in the beginning of the 32nd year, 1068 A.H., Prince Aurangzib came to Mālwa with his army on his way to the Capital. As the Rāja blocked his path and was in expectation of this day, preparations were made for the battle. Iftikhār Khān and the other *manṣabdars* arranged themselves on his left wing and engaged Murād Baksh's troops, which formed 'Ālamgīr's right wing. The Khān was killed. They say, that though he was a *Khūwājizāda* of the Naqshbandī order, he had embraced the Imāmiyā (Shī'a) religion, and had so committed to memory the proofs and arguments for that religion that others found it difficult to refute him. He had also some tincture of knowledge.

IFTIKHĀR KHĀN SULTĀN HUSAIN

(Vol I, pp 252-255)

He was the eldest son of Asālat Khān *Mīr Bakhsī*². When his father died in Balkh, in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, the appreciative Sovereign had regard for the good service of that zealous and energetic servant and patronised his children. In the 21st year, he appointed Sultān Husain to the Superintendency of the *Qūrkhāna*³, and in the following year he was made Superintendent of the branding (of horses) in succession to Rahmat Khān. In the 24th year, he was made *faujdār* of the *Miyān Dīnāb*, and, in the 31st year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. In company with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, who by the contrivance of Dārā Shikōh had been appointed to confront Aurangzib, he was sent to Mālwa. At the same time that fortunate Prince crossed the Narbadā and came to that province. The Rāja blocked his path and prepared for battle. After the leading Rājapūts had been put to the sword by Aurangzib, and the Mahārāja becoming distracted had taken to flight, a number of the auxiliaries joined Aurangzib, while many escaped with their lives. Sultān Husain, who had been appointed along with trusty men to the front section of the vanguard, withdrew and proceeded towards Āgra. When Aurangzib became King, he, as a judge of merit, increased Sultān Husain's rank and conferred on him the title of Iftikhār Khān. After the battle with Shujā' he was made Master of the Horse in place of Saif Khān, and promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 6th year, he was made *Mīr-i-Sāmān* in place of Fādul Khān who received the high office of *Vazīr*. As he had adapted himself to the King's disposition, he for a long time served him and held an assured position.

¹ The illness of Shāh Jahān in September 1657, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 720.

² *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text I, pp 167-172. Beveridge's translation pp 207-209.

³ The *Insigra*, see Blochmann's translation of the *A'in*, I (2nd edn), p. 72.
note 4

In the 13th¹ year, it was reported to the King that Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam (Bahādur Shāh), the Viceroy (*Nāzim*) of the Deccan, had, on account of bad companionship, self-indulgence, and the deceit of flatterers departed from the right path and become proud and insubordinate. Knowing Sultān Husain to be trustworthy and acquainted with his policy, Aurangzib sent him to the Deccan, and gave him both sweet and bitter instructions, and such as fitted the occasion. Sultān Husain went there with alacrity and discharged his trust. As the Prince was loyal and the reports about him were false, he did nothing but submit and showed his readiness to act according to the King's pleasure. The King was convinced of his honesty, and his wrath turned to complaisance. But at the same time evil speakers found the opportunity and made the King displeased with Iftikhār Khān. When he returned to the Presence, he was, in spite of all the honour and confidence that had been given to him, deprived of his rank and title, and a mace-bearer was appointed to convey him across the Indus. In the 14th year, his faults were pardoned and he was restored to his office and title, and again encompassed with favours and appointed governor of Kashmīr in succession to Saif Khān. Afterwards he was transferred from Kashmīr to Peshāwar at the time when the Afghāns had made a disturbance. In the 12th year, he was made *faujdār* of the Bangash, and, in the 21st, when he was appointed to the government of Ajmēr he was ordered to accompany Prince Muhammad Akbar. In the 23rd year, he was made *faujdār* of Jaunpūr, and, in the 24th, 1092, he died. His sons² 'Abdullāh, 'Abdul Hādī and 'Abdul Bāqī appeared before the King and received mourning robes. In the time of Bahādur Shāh, one of them obtained the title of Aṣālat Khān, and was appointed as the deputy of Mukhtār Khān in the office of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. During this reign he, after suffering much adversity came to the Deccan, where the appreciative Āsaf Jāh came to his relief and made him *Dīvān* of the Deccan. At last he was appointed governor of Haidarābād, and ended his days there. The other became known by becoming the son-in-law of Ma'mūr Khān. He got the title of Tafākhur Khān and, in the reign of Muhammad Farrukh siyar, he became governor of the fort of Bijāpūr, and lived for a long time in that deserted place, nor did the door of comfort and tranquillity open to his distressed circumstances. In the same place he died.

IHTIMĀM KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 160-162)

One of the *Wālā-Shāhīs* (household troopers) of Shāh Jahān. In the first year of the reign, he received the rank of a 1,000³ with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan became the King's camping ground, and three armies under the command of three Amīrs were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk who had protected him, he was made *Dārōgha* of the artillery and sent along with A'zam Khān. In the battle in which A'zam Khān attacked

¹ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, pp 100, 101² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, pp 209, 210³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 119

Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in which Bahādur the brother's son of Khān Jahān stubbornly resisted, Ihtimām Khān and Bahādur Khān Rohla were among the first ¹ to get to the summit of the hill (the pass) and did good service. After that when A'zam Khān went towards Jāmkhērī ² with the intention of extirpating Muqarrab Khān and Bahlūl, Ihtimām Khān was appointed to take the fort of Telngī and rendered good service in taking it. In the 4th year, he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse and was made *thānadār* of Jālāna ³. In the 5th year, he received an augmentation of 200 horse, and in the 6th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 9th year, when Shāh Jahān went to the Deccan for the second time and sent three armies under three generals for the chastisement of Sāhū Bhōnslē, and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, Ihtimām Khān got an increase of 300 horse and went off with Khān Daurān. He did good service in the siege of the fort of Ūsā, ⁴ and after its capture was appointed its governor. In the 10th year, he received the honour of kettledrums, but in the 13th year he was removed from there, and, at the request ⁵ of Prince Aurangzib was made *thānadār* of Khērla in Berār. In the 14th year, he came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant and was made the *thānadār* of Ghūrband in succession to Himmat Khān. In the 19th year, he went with Prince Murād Baksh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and after the fort of Ghūr (or Ghūrī) was taken, he was appointed to its charge. As it appeared that he did not behave ⁶ well to the men there, he was removed in the 20th year, and in the same year, 1056 A H (1646 A D) he died.

(KHĀN 'ĀLAM) IKHLĀṢ KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 816, 817)

He was the eldest son of Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām ⁷. In the 29th year, he entered the service of Aurangzib along with his father and received a suitable rank. In the 32nd year, when his father made great exertions in capturing Sambhā, he took part in the enterprise. He obtained the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse and the title of Khān 'Ālam. In the 39th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and, in the 43rd year, he distinguished himself in the battle which Muḥammad Bidār Bakht fought with Rānā Bhōnslē. In the 50th year, he was appointed to guard Mālwa and was ordered to accompany Muḥammad A'zam Shāh who had gone off towards Mālwa some days before the King's death. After that event he attached himself to Muḥammad A'zam Shāh and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he confronted Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān and made a brave attack. He was killed ⁸ by a bullet. One of his sons was Khān 'Ālam II, who, after his father, became the head of the family. He held by inheritance

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 330² Jāmkhūr about 30 miles S.E. of Aurangābūd, Elliot, VII, p. 16. The Jāmkhūr of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 47³ East of Aurangābūd, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 29⁴ Ooscotta of Grant Duff. The Owsa of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 294⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 295⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 565⁷ *Maāthir ul Umarā*, I, pp. 794-798⁸ *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 591. Battle of Jājau, 18th June, 1707

the pargana of Basmat¹ as *jāgīr* in the province of Bidar, and resided there. He was much attached to his wife, and left to her the management of the *jāgīr*. Owing to the jugglery of fate she died, he lamented much for her and died four months afterwards. He was a zealous collector of jewels and armour, but made no use of them. He also accumulated much cash, and after his death more than half of it was confiscated. He had no son. The second son was Iṭishām Khān, who died young. His son Iṭishām Khān, II, lived with his uncle Khān 'Ālam. He was married to his daughter. She left a son, who, after much exertion, got the title of Khān 'Ālam and the hereditary fief mentioned above. But by the jugglery of fate he died in early youth.

IKHLĀṢ KHĀN IKHLĀṢ KĒSH

(Vol I, pp 350-352)

He was the son of a Hindū of the Khatrī Balī² (?) tribe. His real name was Dēbī Dās, and his ancestors were *qānūngōs* of the township of Kalānaur, which is forty *los* from Lāhōre. From early youth he had applied himself to study. He lived in the Capital and by associating with learned people and with faqirs he became a cultured man. As he was a disciple of Mullā 'Abdullāh³ of Siyālkōt, he by his recommendation entered the service of Aurangzib and received the name of Iḳhlās Kēsh⁴. In the 25th year, he had a small appointment and became clerk of the kitchen. In the 26th year he was clerk of the Oratory, in the 29th year clerk of petitions and in the 30th year he was *pēshdast*⁵ (assistant) of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān Mīr Bakshī in place of Yār 'Alī Bēg. In the 33rd year, he replaced Sharaf-ud-Dīn as *Wāqī'a-navis* of the *Khān-i-Sāmān's* office, and afterwards he was *Amīn*⁶ of the capitation-tax in the province of Bidar. In the 39th year, he was *Amīn* and *faujdār* of pargana Andūr⁷ in place of Muḥammad Kāzum, and in that year his rank was 400 with 350 horse. In the 41st year, he was again *pēshdast* of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the 50th year, he had Muḥammad added to his name, and was made *Fakīl* of Shāh 'Ālam. On the death of Aurangzib, as 'Azam Shāh was displeased with him on account of this vakilship, Basālat Khān Mīrzā Sultān interceded for him and, as it was shown that he was blameless, he received a *parwāna* (order or permission) and remained in Aurangābād. When Bahādur Shāh became the Sovereign, he came to the Court and received an appointment of 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Iḳhlās Khān, and was appointed to the office of '*Arḍ Mukarrar* (Reviser of petitions). They say, that when the chief officer⁸

¹ North-west of Nāndēr, Haidarābād

² Variant Nālī

³ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp 148, 220. He died in 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.)

⁴ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 220. The title means sincere in religion.

⁵ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 283

⁶ *Loc cit*, p 380

⁷ This is probably a place in the Deccan, and not Andōrah of the Bārī Dūāb

⁸ Perhaps *Sar-i-Darbār* means here the subject brought before the darbār. The minister referred to as the Khān Khānān was Mun'im Khān who afterwards fell into disgrace on account of his letting Banda the Sikh leader escape, see *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp 667-677, and Sarkar's edition of Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp 109-116. The account in the text is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, pp 628, 629, where Iḳhlās Khān is called *Jadīd-ul-Islām*, the new convert to Islām.

(*Sar-i-Darbār*) brought forward the subject of petitions, and as the Emperor was also a man of learning, there used to be long conversations between them about theological subjects, and a hint was given to the other officers that they should remain silent, as the questions of commentaries and traditions were being discussed and secular matters must be postponed for the time. As both the Emperor and his minister for the time being had extraordinarily liberal ideas, scarcely anyone's petition was rejected. The Khān, who was noted for his severity and keenness in business matters, said to the Khān-Khānān "The tree of the Emperor's universal benevolence will not bear any fruit except by the confiscation of many of the fiefs." Khān-Khānān knew that the odium of the inquiry would fall on himself, and so he put it on to Ikhhlās Khān. He too could not bear reproaches of men and withdrew from service, and Must'id Khān Muḥammad Sāqī was appointed to the office. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, Dhūlfāqār Khān expanded the office of the *Diwān-i-Tan*¹ and made Ikhhlās Khān his assistant. In the time of Farrukh-siyar, when there was much violence, and several officers had their eye upon him, Qutb-ul-Mulk and Husain 'Alī remembered old friendship and sent him to his home which was in the town of Jānsath². Afterwards they represented matters to the Emperor, and sent him *sanads* confirming him in his *manṣab* and *jāgīr* and summoned him to the Court. Though, on account of his independent nature, he did not wish again to take up service, he did so at the insistence of the two brothers. He was made *Mīr Munshī* and entrusted with the duty of writing the records of the reign. After Farrukh-siyar was deposed, he obtained a *manṣab* of 7,000. In the time of Muḥammad Shāh he also filled the same office. He was a tactful man and one who knew the Court. He never wore anything but white clothes. They say, that even when he was of low rank the highest officers honoured him. He composed³ a history of the events of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar and called it the *Bādshāhnāma*. He died at his appointed time.

IKHLĀṢ KHĀN SHAIKH ILĀHDIYA

(Vol I, pp 198, 199)

He was the son of Kishwar Khān Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Shaikh Khūban of whom an account is given separately (Text III, pp 65-68). Shaikh Ibrāhīm obtained, in the first year of Jahāngīr, the rank of 1,000 with 300 horse and the title of Kishwar Khān. In the 3rd year, he was made governor of Rohtās. In the 4th year, he came to the Court and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and was made the *faujdar* of Ujjain. In the 7th year, he bravely yielded up his life in the

¹ For *Diwān-i-Tan*, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp 46-49.

² In the Muzaffarnagar district, U P. Famous as the home of Jānsath Saraid, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 62. It was sacked in Muhammad Shāh's reign, see *Siyar ul Muta'āliḥīrīn*, I, p 296.

³ See Khāfi Khan, II, p 774. The work does not seem to exist now. Beal identifies this Ikhhlās Khān with Kishn Chand who wrote the *Hamēsha Bahār*, see pp 176 and 223, and also Rieu, *Catalogue*, p 1086b. The *Hamēsha Bahār* is described in Sprenger's *Oudh Cat*, p 117 but probably Kishn Chand and Dēhī Dās are not the same. This biography is by 'Abdul Hayy.

service of his master in the battle which Shujā'at Khān fought with 'Uthmān Afghān, who was raising the standard of arrogance in Orissa.¹ Shaikh Ilāhdīva obtained a suitable office, and, in the 8th year of Shāh Jihūn was appointed to accompany Prince Aurangzib on the expedition against Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 17th year, he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and made governor of Kālnjar. In the 19th year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh in the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān, and obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Ikbās Khān. In the 20th year, he was, at the instance of Jumlat ul Mulk Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—who hastened off after the return of Prince Murād Bakhsh to arrange the affairs of Balkh—favoured with an increase of 500 horse. In the 21st year, he returned, and by the royal order was separated from Prince Aurangzib and attached to the King. Afterwards he was given a flag. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and sent off to Qandahār with Prince Aurangzib. In the 23rd year, he had an increase of 500 and in the 29th year was granted drums, and accompanied for the second time the above-mentioned Prince. In the 26th year, he went with Prince Dārā Shikōh to the same region and received a robe of honour and a horse with a saddle and silver mountings. From Qandahār he went with Rustam Khān to take Bust, and, in the 28th year, he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk (Sa'ad Ullāh) to demolish Chittōr. In the 30th year, he was among the auxiliaries of the Deccan with Mu'azzam Khān and went to join Prince Aurangzib the Viceroy. In the war² with 'Ādil-Khāns he behaved bravely and was wounded in the leg by a spear. Afterwards, in the 31st year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Nothing more is mentioned about him.

(SAIYID) IKHTISĀS KHĀN, or SAIYID FIRDŪZ JANG

(Vol II, pp 473-475)

He was the brother's son and son-in-law of Saiyid Khān Jahān Bīrah of Shāh Jahān's reign. In his uncle's lifetime he attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and, after his death he, in the 19th year, obtained an increase of 500 with 600 horse. In the 20th year, he went with some officers to Balkh to convey 25 laes of rupees to Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. On his return, his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he was presented a flag. In the 22nd year, he received the title of Khān and went with Prince Aurangzib on the expedition to Qandahār. On his return he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silvered saddle. From there he went with Rustam Khān to help Qulij Khān, and marched to Bust. He did good service in the battle with the Persians, and was wounded in the arm by a bullet. In the 23th year, he went for the second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and received a robe of honour, etc. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition with Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 29th year, he was made *faydār* of

¹ Apparently the battle was fought in Eastern Bengal, see Blochmann's translation of the *Itin*, I (2nd edn.), p. 587.

² The reference is apparently to Aurangzib's campaign against the Bijāpūr in 1657, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 236-250.

Īrij,¹ Bhāndair and Shāhzādapūr, which were dependencies of the Capital and crown-lands (*Khālsa mahals*) and which had been ruined by the neglect of Najābat Khān, the revenue of these was three kros, 40 laes of *dāms*. After the sovereignty came to Aurangzib, he along with the Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh—who had left Sulaimān Shikōh, and intended to come to the Court—paid his respects and joined the expedition to Hardwār under Shāyista Khān for the purpose of checking the progress of Sulaimān Shikōh. After the battle with Sultān Shujā', he was appointed to Bengāl, and in the end of the 2nd year, when Firūz Mēwātī got the title of Khān, he received that of Sayyid Ikhtisās Khān. For a long time he was *thānadār* of Gauhati in Āssām. In the 10th year, when the demon-like Assamese came with a great body of men, and as help did not arrive the Khān bravely gave his life in the service of his King in 1077² (1666-67 A D)

ILĀHWARDĪ KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 207-215)

He was descended³ from the Saljūq family. They say that he came directly in the line of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī. He was an honest and clever man. There are many stories of his youth. They say that when he went to Europe, he was seized on suspicion of being a spy. By chance on the day of a festival, he was produced before the ruler on the occasion of a tent-pegging display (*nēzabāzī* sport with spears). He distinguished himself and the ruler made enquiries about him, and, on being convinced of his innocence, sent him off to India with all honour. For some time he was in Burhānpūr and lived by his wife⁴ (?). As his elder brother Mukhlis Khān was in the service of Sultān Parvīz, he too was introduced to the Sultān and began to prosper. Afterwards, as both brothers were skilled in hunting, and Jahāngīr was much given to this pursuit, they became favourites. Ilāhwardī Khān obtained the title of Mir'taqid Khān, and was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman). He became Jahāngīr's companion, and was always with him on his hunting expeditions. The large net which is the chief item in the *Qamargha* hunt, and which is called *bāwar*,⁵ was one of his inventions. In the 21st year, it was made of ropes at a cost of 24,000 rupees and produced before Jahāngīr. It is a very strong net and forms a full load for eighty camels. Its length is 10,000 royal cubits (*Dhar'a*), its height six, and like a *sarāparda* it rests on strong supports. Various kinds of wild animals are brought within it and hunted. On the death of Jahāngīr, at the time of the affair of Shahryār, he behaved with loyalty and made himself

¹ Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 167.

² It appears from *Ālām-girnāma*, p 917, that he was also employed in the 10th year in the expedition to Chittāgong. The account of the attack on Gualiat and of the death of Ikhtisās Khān, then called Sayyid Firūz Khān, is given on p 1068. There is also in the *Maāthir ul Umrā* Gauhati is described as being in Bengāl, on the borders of Āssām.

³ Literally—The sap (arg) of his genealogical tree is derived from the tree of the Saljūq clan.

⁴ *Bā' wa' ir' n' firō i qurānīda*—lived by fraud and quackery. There is the variant *firōn*.

⁵ *Bāwar* is Turki for a rope, P de Courteille, *Diction. des. S. Pers.* I, p 311, where it is spelt *bāwar*. Probably the word is *blawar* which occurs in the *Ishtā'ir* as the Hindī name for a kind of net. See Rogers and Beames, *Illustrations of the History of India*, I, p 59.

acceptable to Yamīn-ud-Daula and fitted for royal favours. When he, in company with Āṣaf Jāh, waited upon Shāh Jahān, he received a commission of 2,000 *Dhāt* and horse and the title of Ilāhwardī Khān. As he was intimate with Mahābat Khān, he displayed great energy in the siege of Parōnda. Had the other officers equally exerted themselves the fortress would have been taken with ease. In the 8th year, with an increase of 1,000 with 2,000 horse he was promoted to an office of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and became the governor of Mālwa, in succession to Khān Daurān. When the King established himself at Daulatābād in the 9th year, an order was issued to Ilāhwardī Khān who had gone with Shāyista Khān to take the district of Sangamnir and Junair, to take the Nizām-ul-Mulki forts which were situated in the direction of the forts of Chāndōr¹ and Dharap. Of these, there were six held by Sāhū's (Shāhji's) men, two held by Bhōjbal Nāyakwārī, and six held by other rebels. Relying on these strongholds, they were stirring up the dust of dissension, and were oppressing the weak. Ilāhwardī Khān² came first to Chāndōr and invested that strong place, which was on the top of a hill and was famous for its strength. He took it by making great efforts, and the other stiff-necked ones, on seeing this, submitted. First, Kanhar Rāo³ the governor of Anjarāyī asked for quarter and surrendered that strong fortress. The Khān, to conciliate the governors of other forts recommended him for the rank of 2,000 and gave him Rs 50,000 in cash from the treasury. Then he besieged the forts of Kājna⁴ and Mājna, which were connected with the fort of Dharap and got possession of both by treaty.

Similarly he quickly and easily got possession of forts Rōla Jōla, Ahwant⁵ and others, all of them were built on the tops of hills. The fort of Rājdihar,⁶ where many of the relatives of Nizām Shāh were, and who made great efforts to defend it, was taken in the course of two months. He then addressed himself to the taking of Dharap⁷ which was noted for its strength and height. In its strength it is not inferior to Daulatābād. Bhōjbal⁸, the governor of the fort, was so alarmed by the successive victories of Ilāhwardī Khān that he agreed for a *manṣab* of 3,000 and a lac of rupees to surrender this strong fort, which could not have been taken except with the aid of fortune, and to enter himself among the servants. In this year many impregnable forts of the country came into the hands of the imperial servants. Accordingly Tāhb Kalīm wrote the verses

Verses

O King! thy fortune has captured the fortune of the world
Thy sword has taken the land and life and goods from the foe,
Thou hast seized in one year forty forts,
Of which kings could not have taken one in forty years

¹ In the Nāsik district

² Khāfi Khān, I, p 523 and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 138, where instead of Chāndōr we have Chānda. See also p 146, where it is Chāndōr

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 146. Hambir Rāo in Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p 146

⁴ Kājana and Mājana in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 146

⁵ Khāfi Khān, I, p 524, where the spelling is Hanūnat but it is Ahwant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 147

⁶ Rājabir in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, pp 147, 148

⁸ Bhojrāj according to Banarsi Prasad, *op cit*, p 147

In short the Khān in the 10th year took leave to take up the *faujdārī* of Baiswāra ¹ and Lucknow, and in the beginning of the 11th year when Murshid Qulī Khān *faujdār* of Mathurā died ² from a gunshot wound while attacking a village ³, Ilāhwardī Khān obtained the fief of that place and set out to punish the rebels. In the end of the 12th year, he was raised to the high rank of 5,000 personal and horse, and became governor of Delhi in succession to Ghairat Khān. When in the 15th year, Dārā Shukōh went to Qandahār with a number of high officers to release that territory on receipt of the news of the setting out of Shāh Safī, the King of Persia, and returned from Afghānistān on hearing of the death of the Shāh—who died from natural causes in Šafr 1052 A H (May, 1642 A D)—Ilāhwardī Khān accompanied ⁴ the force. As various traits and dispositions appeared in him which were contrary to the rules of loyalty and fidelity, and as to these there was added an ungovernable tongue, he was deprived of his fief and his rank and was the subject of censure. As his good services had been established in the King's mind, the pargana of Sankarpūr ⁵ with a rental of thirty-four lakhs of *dāms* was assigned to him for his support. Afterwards, ⁶ at the instance of the eldest Prince he was restored to his former rank, and, in the 18th year, ⁷ he obtained the fief of Iloharpūr. On the death of the Khān Daurān, the governor of the Deccan, he was made supreme in Berār. When Islāmī Khān came to the Deccan, they did not get on together. At his own request he was recalled to the Court. In the 21st year, he kissed the threshold, and received the *jāgīr* of Gorakhpūr. When on account of Qandahār the friendship between Shāh 'Abbas II and Shāh Jahān had been interrupted, and there was a stoppage of mutual embassies, it happened, that in the 26th year a person named Ghulām Ridā ⁸ came from Bandar 'Abbās with seven 'Iraqī horses to Sūrat and brought a writing from the Shāh to the guardians of the roads to the effect, that the servant of Ilāhwardī Khān *Mīr Ātish* (Artillery officer) was bringing some horses and directing that no one should interfere with him. From this it was suspected that the Khān had sent some presents (to the Shāh) along with a letter, and that this was the reply. Though the sending of a letter and presents to a foreigner and an enemy was contrary to the rules of loyalty and deserving of capital punishment, but out of benevolence and generosity he was (only) deprived again of his rank and *jāgīr* and censured, and it was directed that he should be sent back without delay from Kābul and he should stay in his own house in Delhi. An order was also issued to the clerk at Sūrat to confiscate the horses and all the belongings of Ghulām Ridā and to send him in chains to the Court so that he might meet with due punishment. After he came, inquiry ⁹ was made and it was

¹ *Loc cit.*, p. 243, *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 218

² Khāfī Khān, I, p. 552

³ This was in pargana Jadwār in the Sāmbhal Sarkār. Murshid Qulī was *faujdār* of Mathurā, Mahāban, Kumāon and Pabāri, vide *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 7

⁴ Khāfī Khān, I, p. 589, and pp. 594, 595. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 308, 309

⁵ Should be Shakarpūr, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 309, and Khāfī Khān, I, p. 595. It was in the Sarkār of Delhi

⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 378, and Khāfī Khān, I, p. 601. The Prince was Dārā Shukōh

⁷ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 387

⁸ Khāfī Khān, I, p. 713

⁹ The circumstances of this case are described by Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 713, 714. He states that Ilāhwardī Khān asserted his innocence and confirmed it by strong oaths, and that Fāḍil Khān, who inquired into the matter, reported that Ghulām

found that he had got the document by sending a forged letter with some presents to the general of the Shāh of Persia. Accordingly in the 28th year Ilāhwardī Khān was restored at the request of the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh), and became the recipient of royal favours and received a *mansab* of 5,000 and the fief of Jaumpūr in succession to Mukarram Khān. Though during this time he was excluded from the Court for two years and 8 months and lived in retirement, he used to receive for his expenses 70 lacs of *dāms* a year and at every yearly weighment (of the King) he received a thousand *Ashrafīs*. Accordingly¹ up to the time of regaining his service he had received five thousand *Ashrafīs*. At the end of the reign he was appointed governor of Bihār.

When the illness of Shāh Jahān had lasted for a long time and various disasters happened in the kingdom and Shujā', the second son, behaved presumptuously in Bengāl and led an army against Patna. Ilāhwardī Khān who was unable to oppose him, came to Benāres and stayed there till Shujā' followed him. The latter had recourse to fawning and deceit and so prevailed on him, that this experienced greybeard departed from his position and took the side of that ruined man, and never² ceased to help him. After continual wanderings Shujā', in the middle of Rajab 1070 A H (March, 1660 A D), wished to leave Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal) and to proceed to Tānda. Ilāhwardī Khān from his experience and knowledge (of Astrology³) foresaw in the future of Shujā' the approaching disaster, and perceived that Shujā' would eventually have to fly to Arrācān to escape Aurangzib's army. He, therefore, wished to join the imperial army, and returned to Akbarnagar. As many of Prince's men wished to leave him and were of the same mind as Ilāhwardī Khān and as the latter had a band of his own men, he fortified his residence, and was prepared to resist if Shujā' attacked him.

Shujā' on hearing the news devised a plan, and spread untrue reports and returned to Akbarnagar. He appointed men to surround Ilāhwardī Khān's house, and to wait the signal for attack, and then sent Surāj-ud-Dīn Jābarī, his *Divān*, to bring him (Ilāhwardī Khān) to him by promising whatever may be necessary. When on account of the return of Shujā' to the city (Akbarnagar) and of his false proclamations, the men who had joined Ilāhwardī Khān grew lukewarm, the latter became helpless and accepting the false promises and words set off with his son Saif Ullāh in company with Surāj-ud-Dīn. In this condition men of Shujā' attacked him and seized him on the road, they bound their (i.e. of the father and son) hands behind their backs as if they were criminals and led them before Shujā' outside Akbarnagar. That wicked man set him upon an elephant and took him with him to the city (Akbarnagar) and there³ put him and his son to death, and confiscated all his property.

Ridā had been a servant of Ilāhwardī Khān, and that after being dismissed he went to Persia and had obtained the *dustak* (permit) from the King of Persia by false representations. Shāh Jahān, however, would not accept this explanation.

¹ There were two weighments each year, the solar and the lunar.

² But see Bernier, who speaks of Allah Verdi Khan's having betrayed Shujā' in the battle with Aurangzib. The date 1070 seems wrong. It should be 1069 A H (1659 A D).

³ Khāfi Khān, II, p 85. The *Riyāq us Salāfin*, p 217, says 'Alhwardī Khān was the root of all this mischief, and adds he was put to death at Rājmaḥal. Apparently he deserved his fate. He was put to death in July, 1659 A.D., 1069 A.H. (Beale, p 32), but the *Maāthir* gives 1070 A H as the date. Beale's year is right,

Ilāhwardī Khān had good sons, every one of whom attained high rank as will be described in the proper place¹ But none of them acted along with their father except the youngest, Mīrzā Saif Ullāh His (Saif Ullāh's) memory was such that he could repeat everything that he had heard from the beginning of his childhood He also composed poetry His father was fond of him Ilāhwardī Khān was given to jesting and frolic, and indulged in foolish talk This was so much the case, that the contagion attacked his sons and relatives and up to the present day when no trace of the family remains, they are remembered for this improper quality Yet Ilāhwardī Khān was not without devotion and piety He delighted in the society of the descendants of the Prophet—peace be upon him!—and every year gave them presents And he set apart one tenth of the produce of his *jāgīr* and gave it in charity He was the unique of the time for friendship For an acquaintance of one day he did the work of a hundred years² He did not believe in clerks and managed his own business Every day he entered his income and expenditure with his own hand He made a *sarāi*, and a garden at Delhī, and they are known to the people by his name

ILĀHWARDI KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 229-232)

He was known as Ilāhwardī Khān 'Ālamgīrshāhī and was the eldest son of Ilāhwardī Khān³ His name was Ja'far Though the disposition of the father and son and of his brothers was naturally inclined towards jesting and bluntness, so that they were all of one cloth—and even to this day every member of the family follows the customs of his ancestors and does not abandon jocosity and laughter—yet Mīrzā Ja'far from his early days was not on good terms with his father He bound the skirt of energy round the waist of enterprise and became a separate runner on the course of life By good fortune and excellent endeavours he became a favourite of Shāh Jahān, and, in the 21st year obtained the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse In the 23rd year he was made *Qarāwal Bā* (Chief huntsman), which was his hereditary office Afterwards he obtained an increase of rank, and was made *faujdar* of Jānabī (?)⁴ After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh when the garden of Nūr Manzil⁵ was made the encampment of Aurangzib, the first order that was issued from the royal mind was that Ilāhwardī Khān should be made *faujdar* of Mathurā,

but the month was April The account in the text is taken from the 'Ālamgīr-nāma' p 498 etc Evidently Ilāhwardī Khān intended to desert Shujā' and so he deserved his fate He and his son were put on an elephant and taken back to his quarters in Akbarnagar, and then put to death—probably, after a trial, see 'Ālamgīr-nāma' p 500-501

¹ Ilāhwardī Khān, Text I, pp 229-232 Hasan Ali Khān Bahādur Text I, pp 593-599, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, pp 617-620

² That is, he worked for him as if he had known him for a century

³ *Maāthir ul-Umarā* I pp 297-215, and translation pp 668-672

⁴ There is the variant Jātapi Perhaps Jāmbūji in Gujarāt is meant see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II p 242

⁵ Nūr Manzil was near Āgra, it was named after Jahāngīr *Ā'in* II p 62

and have charge of affairs of that *Challa*¹ and should chastise the seditious of that place which was Dārā Shikōh's fief. Owing to the dismissal of his men—who had managed the place—the inhabitants had become disturbed and restless, and the opportunists there had become seditious. He went off after being presented with a female elephant and being raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of whom 1,000 were two-horse and three-horse. Afterwards his rank was increased, and he got the title of Ilāhwardī Khān 'Ālamgīrshāhī. In the 3rd year he was removed from the *faujdārī* of Mathurā and appointed to that of Gorakhpūr. In the 7th year, he appeared at the Court and presented 14 elephants that he had taken from the *Zamīndār* of Mōrang, and nine which he tendered as his *pēshlash*. He spent a long time in that estate, and, in the 9th year, had his rank increased and a *farmān* was issued, giving him the *faujdārī* of Morādābād. In the 10th year, his *manṣab* was 4,000 with 3,000 horse, including two-horse and three-horse (troopers). In succession to Bahādur Khān Kōka he became governor of Allāhābād, and in the 12th year, 1079 A H (1668-69 A D) he died. He was distinguished for courage and energy, and was also very generous. He composed poetry and was the author of a *divān*, and this is one of his couplets.

Nothing demands less than a spoon

It suffers a hundred strokes² that it may bring a lip to a lip

In spite of these good qualities he could not get on with his father. It is notorious that when Ilāhwardī Khān incurred the Sovereign's displeasure for some reason and Shāh Jahān ordered in open *Diwān* that he should be seized and turned out, Ja'far jumped and quickly came out of the crowd and seized his father by the back of the collar and put him out. His father, who always complained, was very voluble on this occasion and Ja'far in excuse said, 'As it was impossible to disobey the King's order, no doubt someone else would have come forward to execute it. In that case we should not have been able to show our faces, and perhaps indignation and shame would have carried us too far.' His son was Amān Ullāh. When in the 12th year his uncle Hasan 'Alī Khān was made *faujdār* of Mathurā, he was made *faujdār* of Āgra and was ordered to assist his uncle. After that he got the title of Khān and in company with Muḥammad A'zam Shāh at the battle of the batteries at Bijūpūr, he, in the 29th year, bravely drank the last draught.

ILANGTÖSH³ KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol III, pp 971, 972)

In the 14th year of Aurangzib's reign, he was presented with a sword, a dagger, and a spear. In the 19th year, on the day of his marriage

¹ Chakla Mīwāt, vide Khāfi Khān, II, p 33, and *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 8

² The strokes, literally strokes of the hatchet or pickaxe, seem to refer to the insertions of a spoon into food and into the mouth. The lip or *lab* is presumably the edge of the spoon. The spoon meant may however be a wooden spoon, and the meaning be that it is cut and fashioned by a hatchet merely that it may become a go between.

³ *Ilangtösh* means in Turkī naked breast, and was an epithet originally given to a warrior who fought without armour. He is several times mentioned in the

feast, he received a robe of honour, and an emerald *sarpēch* (turban-ornament), a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant with silver trappings. In the 20th year, his rank became 2,000, 700 horse. In the 25th year, he became *Qūrbēgi* (Superintendent of armoury), on the retirement of Abū Nasr Khān. After that he was censured, but, in the 28th year, he was reinstated, and on the death of Bakhtāwar Khān he was made Superintendent of the pages. In the 29th year he was again dismissed. His subsequent career is not known.

'IMĀD-UL-MULK¹

(Vol II, pp 847-856)

He was the son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang² who was the heir of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh. He was the daughter's son of 'I'imād-ul-Daula Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān. His real name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn. When his father was appointed governor of the Deccan and hastened to that quarter, he was left at the Court as a deputy Mīr Bakhsī, and was made over to Safdar Jang the *Vazīr*. Afterwards, when the news of his father's death arrived from the Deccan, he took advantage of the time and so ingratiated himself with Safdar Jang that he was made Mīr Bakhsī and got his father's title. Afterwards, when the King's disagreement with Safdar Jang became acute, 'Imād-ul-Mulk in conjunction with his maternal uncle Khān-Khānān entered the fort of Delhi with a force and turned out Mūsavī Khān who, as the deputy of Safdar Jang, was, with 400 men, carrying on the duties of *Mīr Ātish* (Chief of the artillery), and had the son of the Khān Daurān appointed to that office. Next day Safdar Jang went to the King and complained about the appointment of the Mīr Ātish. But he did not succeed. An order was issued that the (Mūsavī Khān) could have another appointment. He took the Mīr Bakhsīship from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and gave it to Sādāt Khān Dhūlfāqār Jang. When the King became displeased with Safdar Jang, 'Imād-ul-Mulk contended with the latter for six months and sent for Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar from Mālwa and Jai Āpā from Nāgōr to help him. But before they came he made peace with Safdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Hōlkar and Jai Āpā joined together and fell upon Sūraj Mal the Jāt. Bharatpūr, Kūmhēr³ and Deeg, which were three of their strong forts, were besieged. As cannon were the best weapons for taking forts, 'Imād-ul-Mulk, at the request of the Mahratta leaders petitioned the King for artillery through his agent 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān Kashmīrī. Intizām-ul-Daula *Vazīr* the son of 'I'imād-ud-Daula Qamr-ud-Dīn, opposed 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and urged that the artillery should not be sent. 'Āqibat

Maāthir i 'Ālamgīrī. See Manucci, *Irvine*, II, p. 43, where he is described as being the son of a Tartar woman who was sold by the Uzbek envoys about 1661-62 and made one of the King's Amazons. Manucci hints that he was a son of Aurangzib.

¹ See the biography in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1879 by Irvine, p. 129 et seq. Imād ul Mulk is often called Ghāzī ud Dīn, which was also his father's name.

² The biography of Amīr ul Umarā Fīrūz Jang is given in *Maāthir ul Umarā*, I, pp. 361, 362. Beveridge's translation pp. 592, 593, and of Nizām ul Mulk Āsaf Jāh in *id.* III pp. 837-848, and also 875-897.

³ Kūmhēr vide *Imperial Gazetteer* XVI, p. 22.

Mahmud Khān won over many of the *mansabdārs* and the artillery men by promising that if 'Imād-ul-Mulk's time should come, they would get such and such favours and wished to carry off Intizām-ud-Daula. One day it was arranged that an onslaught should be made on Intizām-ud-Daula's house and that he should be seized. On that day the enterprise failed and 'Imād-ul-Mulk fled towards Dāna. There he became a robber and attacked and plundered the royal estates, and the fiefs of the *mansabdārs*. At this time Sūraj Mal Jāt who had escaped in a wretched condition from the hands of the besiegers, begged assistance from the King. The latter came out of Delhi, ostensibly to hunt, and to arrange the Antarbēd (the Dāūb) but really to help the Jāt. He encamped at Sikandra. He sent for 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān who was then making a disturbance in the neighbourhood, and he came alone from Khūrja and waited on the King and then returned to Khūrja.

One of the Divine decrees was that Hōlkar became impressed with the idea that Ahmad Shāh was delaying the delivery of the guns. Now that he had come out it was fitting that his supplies of food and forage should be stopped. Also he thought that in this way he might get hold of the guns. He wished to carry out this plan without any partners, and so he made a night march without giving notice to 'Imād-ul-Mulk or to Jai Ājā. He crossed the Jmuū at the Mathurā ferry, and on the night when 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān had waited on the King and gone back to Khūrja Hōlkar came near Ahmad Shāh's camp and during the first part of the night discharged some rockets. People thought that 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān was discharging them out of himself on his way back and did not prepare for battle. Nor did they think of flying. At the end of the night it became certain that Hōlkar had come. They all lost their heads and could neither fight nor fly. Ahmad Shāh, his mother and Samsām-ud-Daula the *Mir Ātish*, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān, left their honour and their property and ran away to the Capital with a few followers. Their inexperience resulted in a great disaster. Hōlkar came and plundered the whole of the royal property. Mahika-i-Zamāniya, the daughter of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar who was the wife of Muhammad Shāh, and other ladies were made prisoners. Hōlkar treated them with honour. When 'Imād-ul-Mulk heard about it, he abandoned the siege and hastened to the Capital. When Jai Āpū saw that these two leaders had gone, he too abandoned the siege and went off to Nārñol. Sūraj Mal without effort was freed from the pressure of the siege. 'Imād-ul-Mulk by the help of Hōlkar and with the co-operation of the Court officers, especially Samsām-ud-Daula Mir Ātish deprived Intizām-ud-Daula of the *Vazārat* and appropriated it himself, and gave the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā to Samsām-ud-Daula. On the day he assumed the *Vazārat*, he, in the morning put on the robe of honour, and at midday imprisoned Ahmad Shāh and his mother. On 10th Sha'bān, Sunday, 1167 A H (2nd June, 1754 A D) he seated 'Azīz-ud-Dīn, the son of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh upon the throne, and gave him the title of 'Ālamgīr II. After a week's imprisonment, he blinded Ahmad Shāh and his mother—who was the origin of the whole confusion. After a while he went to Lāhōre to settle the province of the Panjāb, which after the death of Mu'in-ul-Mulk, had on behalf of the Shāh Durrānī come into the possession of Mu'in-ul-Mulk's widow. He left 'Ālamgīr II in Delhi, took with him 'Alī Gōhar for appearance's sake

from the Deccan with great urgency, and in conjunction with them besieged the city and for 45 days artillery-fire went on. At last Hōlkar took a heavy bribe from Najib ud-Daula and laid the foundations of peace. He brought out Najib ud-Daula with respect and with his baggage from the fort and gave him a place near his own tent. He made over to him the other side of the Jumna, viz., Sahāraupūr, Būrayā¹ and Chāndpūr and the whole of the Bārāh townships. With the help of the Mahrattas ʿImād-ul-Mulk got the management of all the affairs of the empire. When Datā Sardār, the Mahratta, besieged Najib ud-Daula in Shakartāl, he summoned ʿImād-ul-Mulk to his aid from Delhī. ʿImād-ul-Mulk was not pleased with ʿĀlamgīr II, and knew that he was secretly in correspondence with Shāh Durrānī, and also that he wished that Najib ud-Daula should prevail over Datā. Accordingly he put to death the khān Khūnān (Intizām-ud-Daula) who had previously been imprisoned. On the same day,² 8th Rabīʿ II, Thursday, 1173 A H (29th November 1759 A D) he also made a martyr of ʿĀlamgīr II, and raised Muḥī-ud-Millat, the son of Muḥī-ud-Summat son of Kām Baksh son of Aurangzib, to the throne and gave him the title of Shāh Jahān. After ʿĀlamgīr II and the Khān-Khūnān had been killed, Datā hastened to his assistance in obedience to a summons. At the same time the near approach of Shāh Durrānī made a disturbance and Datā removed from Shakartāl and moved to Sirhind to fight Shāh Durrānī. ʿImād-ul-Mulk came to Delhī and when he heard of an encounter between Datā and the skirmishers of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain that the latter would be victorious. Accordingly, he left the new King in Delhī and went to Sūraj Mal Jāt and remained with him for a time. Afterwards when time removed the King and Najib ud-Daula made Sultān Jawān Bakht the son of ʿAlī Gōhar Shāh Ālam Bahādur *pro-forma* King and ruled in the Capital, ʿImād-ul-Mulk went to Ahmad Khān Bangash in Farrukhābād. Then he went to Shujāʾ-ud-Daula to fight with the English. After the defeat he sought protection among the Jāts. In the year 1187 A H he came to the Deccan and the Mahrattas gave him some land for his support in the province of Mālwa. As he did not feel confident about the reigning Sovereign, he went off to the port of Sūrat and spent³ some time there with the hat-wearers (the English). At the

¹ A town in the Ambāla district. *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 106. Chāndpūr is perhaps the town in the Bijnaur district.

² The *Khazāna* i. *ʿAmra*, p. 54, has three days afterwards.

³ Much of this biography has been copied into the *Siyar ul Mutaʾaḥḥirin*. The common source is the *Khazāna* i. *ʿAmra*, pp. 50-54, so that evidently this is one of the biographies contributed by Ghulām ʿAlī. The biography says nothing of Gunnā Bēgam the wife of ʿImād ul Mulk. For an account of her see Beale and especially Irvine, *Journ.* 1s. *Soc. Benqal* for 1879, pp. 128-130.

Sir William Jones in his discourse on the Orthography of Asiatic Words, *As Researches* I, p. 55, quotes a Hindūstānī love song as being by Gunnā Bēgam. But it appears from a note by Dr Hunter in *As Researches* VI, p. 76, that the poem is really by one Qamr ud-Dīn. Gunnā Bēgam is buried in Aurangzib's garden, Bāgh Jamāl, in Nurābād on the Sank river. From a reference in Mill's *History of India*, II, p. 414, note (1817), it appears that ʿImād ul Mulk was found by Colonel Goddard at Sūrat in 1780 disguised as a pilgrim and that he was for a time put into confinement. He did go to Mecca, and returned *via* Baḡra and Qandahār, and died at Kālpi on 1st December, 1800 (*vide* Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 129). For a good general survey of the period of ʿImād-ul-Mulk see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 434-448.

not to mention Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān who each year collected from his fiefs fifty lacs of rupees Prince Dārā Shikōh had in the end a *manṣab* of 60,000 with 40,000 troopers, two-horse, and three-horse, with an allowance (*m’ām*) of 83 krs of *dāms*, which came to 2 krs, 7 lacs and 50,000 rupees a year

To investigators it is clear, that in the time of Akbar—who was the founder and builder of the Caliphate and of world-rule, and the constructor of the principles of world-conquest—the expenditure was not on the same footing as in former times. As every day new territories were added, the expenditure also of necessity increased, but the income also increased a hundredfold, and there were accumulations. In the time of Jahāngīr, who was a careless Prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials, in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performances. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees while the expenditure rose to one kror and fifty lacs, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury (*Khazāna-i-‘Amira*). In the beginning of the prudent reign of Shāh Jahān when a review was made of the income and expenditure and of the welfare of the country by the royal officials, that wise ruler ordered that estates to the value of one kror and fifty lacs of rupees—which, according to an estimate for the whole twelve months, formed the fifteenth part of the (value of the) imperial domains—should be made *Khālṣa* (exchequer or crown-lands). He upheld the allowance of a kror of rupees for fixed expenditure, and kept the balance for unforeseen (or contingent) expenses. Gradually, that Monarch, by good management and good fortune increased the income from day to day. The expenditure also increased, so that at the end of the 20th year, out of 880 krs of *dāms* of revenue, 120 krs were assigned to the *Khālṣa* which, for the whole year, comes to three krs of rupees. In the end the amount was nearly four krs, as has been stated (above). More extraordinary still, there were great increases in gifts and *m’āms* and outlays upon enterprises and buildings. For instance, in the first year of the reign a kror and 80 lacs of rupees in cash and goods and 4 lacs of *bīghas* of land and the revenues of 120 villages were assigned to the Bēgams, the Princes, the nobles, officers, Sayids, learned men and Shaikhs. At the end of the 20th year, 9 krs, 60 lacs of rupees were estimated for gifts (*m’āms*)¹. In the Badakhshān and Balkh expeditions, exclusive of 2 krs of rupees for pay and allowances (*marwāṇib*) 2 krs of rupees were expended on necessary armaments. Two krs 50 lacs of rupees were expended on buildings. Of this, 50 lacs were spent on the cemetery (*Rauḍa*—the Tāj Maḥal) of Mumtāz Maḥal, 52 lacs on other buildings in Āgra, 50 lacs on the gardens and buildings of Lāhōre, 12 on Kābul, 8 on royal villas (*munazzahāt*) in Kashmīr, 8 in Qandahār and 10 on the buildings of Aḥmadābād and Ajmēr, etc. Nevertheless the treasuries, which boasted of being full during the fifty-one years of Akbar’s reign, and had now come to the condition of being without increase or diminution, raised the cry of “Touch not.” Aurangzīb, who possessed moderation and caution, long strove to equalize

¹ Based on ‘*Amal-i-Šāhīh* (Yazdānī edn), II, pp 557, 558

the receipts and expenses, but on account of the "old lameness" ¹ of affairs in the Deccan money was poured out so that even the properties of the servants ² of, Dārā Shukōh and others were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan and were included among assignments, and became a burden additional to that caused by the desolation and diminished production in the country. Nevertheless, at the end of the King's life there were in the fort of Āgra ten or twelve kroris of rupees. Some of this was spent in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, for in his time receipts ceased and all was expenditure. Afterwards Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) brought about the ruin (of the exchequer). What remained was seized by the Sayyids during the disturbance of Nēkū-siyar. At this time, when the receipts of the Empire are confined to Bengāl, the Mahrattas have, for two or three years, introduced confusion into that province, but the expenses also have not been as high as before. My pen has rebelled! Whither have my words wandered!

In short, 'Ināyat Khān was removed in the 14th year from the *Khālṣa Dīwānī*—which was committed to Mirak Mu'in-ud-Dīn Amānat Khān—and was made *faujdār* ³ of Chakla Bareilly. In the 18th year he was made ⁴ *faujdār* of Khairābād in succession to Mujāhid Khān. After that when Amānat Khān resigned the *Khālṣa Dīwānī*, an order was passed that Kifāyat Khān the *Dīwān-i-Tan* should also carry on the duties of the *Khālṣa*. In the 20th year, 'Ināyat Khān was again appointed ⁵ to the *Khālṣa* with the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 24th year, he, in Ajmēr—when his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān entitled Bādshāh Qulī Khān, who by his ignorance had been guiding Prince Muḥammad Akbar, either through evil intention and pretext of apology or at the instance of his father-in-law, retired, and expressing devotion and fidelity presented himself at the doors of the royal palace, he was punished for his ungratefulness—was removed from the *Khālṣa Dīwānī* and put in charge of the buildings ⁶ (*Buyūtāt*) in succession to Kāmgār Khān. In the same year, on the ground that his son-in-law Tahawwur Khān had in the *faujdārī* of Ajmēr done good service in putting down the Rājputs, he begged for this *faujdārī* and urged that he would use equal exertions in putting down the arrogant (Rāthōrs), his request was granted. In the 26th year, 1093 A H (1682 A D) he died.

'INĀYAT ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol II, pp 828-832)

He was connected with Sayyid Jamāl of Nishāpūr. By chance he came to Kashmīr and settled there. His father was Mirzā Shukr Ullāh

¹ *Kuhna langī*, see Vullers, II, p 928a, where *kuhna lang* is explained as the condition of a person or thing which cannot be altered.

² Several MSS have the preposition *az* before Dārā so that the meaning may probably be men's goods from Dārā Shukōh downwards. The passage is obscure and the words *amwāl* & *mardum* are curious, if landed property is meant. Perhaps the meaning is that the allowances of men who had formerly served Dārā Shukōh were made an assignment on the Deccan, when they (perhaps as a measure of policy) were transferred from Upper India to the Deccan.

³ *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 110

⁵ *Loc cit*, p 159

⁴ *Loc cit*, p 141

⁶ *Loc cit*, p 206

His mother was Hāfiza Maryam and was appointed to teach Zīb-un-Nisā Bēgam, the daughter of Aurangzīb and the full sister of Muhammad A'zam Shāh. From her Zīb-un-Nisā learnt to commit to memory the words of God and the practice of the accomplishments, and petitioned her father to give an office to 'Ināyat Ullāh. He at first had a small rank and had the appointment of an accountant¹ (*ashraf*) in the jewel-room. In the 31st year, his rank was 400, 60 horse, and next year he was *Khān-i-Sāmān* of the Bēgam's² establishment. In the 35th year, when Rashīd Khān Badī'uz-Zamān *daftardār* of the *Khālṣa* went off to inquire into some *Khālṣa* estates in Haidarābād 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was his deputy, he had the 600 rank with 60 horse and the title³ of Khān. In the 36th year, he became *Dīwān-i-Tan* in succession to Amānat Khān Mīr Husam and his rank was 700 with 80 horse. After some days, he had charge of the *Dīwān-i-Sarf Khāṣṣ* (the *Dīwān*ship of special expenditures) and an increase of 20 horse. In the 42nd year,⁴ he acted as *Sadr* until the appointment of another officer, and his rank was 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 45th year, on the death of Arshad Khān Abūl 'Ulā he was made *Dīwān* of the *Khālṣa*, and his rank was 1,500 with 250 horse. In the 46th year, he received the present of an elephant and in the 49th his rank was 2,000, 250 horse. His companionship with the King became intimate and reliance upon him was such that when Asad Khān on account of age and self-indulgence neglected to sign the papers of the *Fazārat*, it was ordered⁵ that 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān as deputy should sign them. An account of the great favour which the King showed to 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān and which the author of the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* has reported may be read at the end of the biography of Amīr-ul-Umarā Asad Khān (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp 310-321, Beveridge's translation, pp 270-279).

After the death of Aurangzīb, the Khān proceeded with A'zam Shāh to Upper India. When unnecessary baggage was left in Gwālyār 'Ināyat Ullāh remained there with Asad Khān. In Bahādur Shāh's reign, he was confirmed in his employments and came to the Court and obtained leave with Asad Khān. His son Hidāyat Ullāh performed his duties at the Court. After coming to the Deccan, when Muḥṭār Khān, who was the High Steward (*Khān-i-Sāmān*),⁶ died, the appointment was given to 'Ināyat Ullāh and he was summoned to the Court. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, he was appointed governor of Kashmīr, and in the beginning of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's reign, when his eldest son Sa'ad Ullāh Hidāyat Ullāh was killed,⁷ 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān went off from Kashmīr to Mecca. He returned in the middle of the reign, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. He was *Dīwān-i-Khālṣa* and *Dīwān-i-Tan* as well as governor of Kashmīr, he himself remained at the Court and sent a deputy (to Kashmīr). In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he, after the death of

¹ In the expression *ashraf-i rawāhir-khāna*, *ashraf* appears to be a lapsus calami for *mushraf*, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 249. For *mushraf*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p 358 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p 42, note, he was really an examiner or auditor of accounts.

² Zinat un-Nisā, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 314.

³, ⁴ *Loc cit.*, pp 345, 393.

⁵ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 390, where it is said that Asad Khān's illness was the reason of the order. This was in the 41st year.

⁶ See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp 48-52.

⁷ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, p 507.

I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amin Khān had the rank of 7,000, and till the arrival of Āṣaf Khān acted as Deputy *Vazīr* and substantive *Mīr-i-Sāmān*. In the same year, 1139 A H (1726-27 A D) he died.

They say, he was a pure living man and of an agreeable disposition and was known for his piety and respect for faqīrs. He was well acquainted with the rules of official work. Aurangzīb approved of his literary qualities. He collected the orders which were issued through him to the Princes and officers and gave them the name *Ahkām-i-Ālamgīrī*¹. He also collected the notes written by the King and called them *Kalīmāt Tayyibāt*². Both works are well known. He had six sons. One is Sa'ad Ullāh Khān Hidāyat Khān of whom an account has been given³ in its place. The second was Diyā Ullāh Khān of whom an account has been given⁴ at the beginning of the lives of his sons. Thanā Ullāh Khān and Amān Ullāh Khān. The third was Kifāyat Ullāh Khān. The fourth was 'Atīt Ullāh Khān, who after his father's death had the title of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān and became the governor of Kashmīr. The fifth was 'Ubaid Ullāh Khān. The sixth is 'Abdullāh Khān who is living in the Capital. He has the title of Mansūr-ud-Daula.

(RĀJA) INDARMAN DHANDĒRA

(Vol II, pp 265, 266)

He belonged to a branch of the Rājputs. This branch was connected with the Bundēlas and the Panwārs, and their native country was the town of Sahrā in the Sarkār of Sārangpūr in Mālwa. In the records it is described as Sahār⁵ Bābā Hājī. In Akbar's time Rāja Jagman⁶ of Dhandēra entered the service, and in the time of Shāh Jahān the territory of Dhandēra was given to Sīv Rām the brother's son of Rāja Bēthal Dās Gaur. He (Rāja Bēthal Dās) went with a body of men and forcibly expelled Rāja Indarman—who at that time held the *zamīndārī*—but he, after some time collected a large force and again took possession of the country. In the 10th⁷ year, the King sent Mu'tamad Khān and Rāja Bēthal Dās with a suitable force to punish him. They invested Sahrā, and the Rāja asked for quarter and came with them to the Court. In accordance with orders, he was imprisoned in the fort of Junār. In the year⁸ when Aurangzīb proceeded from the Deccan to inquire after

¹ See *Cambridge History of India*, p 583

² Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS., As Soc Bengal*, p 167, no 382 (1924)

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 504-508

⁴ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text I, p 506

⁵ Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 203

⁶ In *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p 751, Beveridge's translation, p 1122, is mentioned a Rāja Jagman a Mālwa landholder

⁷ In *Bādshāhnāma* I, pt 2, p 142, Sīv Rām is mentioned as being granted the fief of Dhandēra. On pp 234, 235 the author mentions Pāthal Dās (for Bēthal Dās), Mu'tamad Khān and other royal servants who had been sent to punish the *Zamīndār* of Dhandēra. The name of the fort is given as Shahr Ārā

⁸ 1658 A.D. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, p 344, the eldest son of Aurangzīb started with the van towards Burhānpūr on 5th February and he himself left Aurangābād on 16th February

his father's health, and meditated an expedition to Upper India, he got the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and advanced with Prince Muhammad Sultān to Upper India. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, he received a flag and drums, and after the battle with Muḥammad Shujā' he went off to Bengāl. There he was active in the King's service. At last he died.¹

IRĀDAT KHĀN MIR ISHĀQ

(Vol. I, pp. 203-206)

He was the third son of A'zam Khān Jahāngīrī.² In the reign of Shāh Jahān he, after his father's death, obtained a commission of 900 with 500 horse and was made *Mir Tuzul*. In the 25th year, he received the title of Irādat Khān and a commission of 1,500 with 800 horse, and was made Superintendent of the elephant stables. In the 26th year, he was made, in succession to Tarbiyat Khān, Master of the horse. In the same year he was granted a commission of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and was made 2nd *Bakhshī* and received a robe of honour. In the 28th year, he got an increase of 800 horse and was made *faujdār* of Sarkār Lucknow and Baiswāra (in Oudh) in succession to Ahmad Bēg Khān. In the 29th year, he came to Court and was appointed to the office of 'Arḍ Wāqā'ī' (Recorder of petitions). His commission was 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, deprived of office and spent some time in retirement. At the same time 'Ālamgīr (Aurangzib) succeeded to the throne. Irādat Khān's brothers, Multafat Khān and Khān Zamān attached themselves to Aurangzib and risked³ their lives in the first battle with Dārā Shikōh. When the royal standards reached the Capital, Irādat Khān was the recipient⁴ of regal favours and got an increase of 500 with 500 horse. At the same time the victorious standards moved from Āgra to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) to pursue Dārā Shikōh and Irādat Khān was appointed⁵ to the *Sūbadārī* of Oudh and granted drums and an increase of 500 with 500 horse so that his commission became one of 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 1,000 troopers were of the two-horse and three-horse rank.

¹ In *Maāthir*: 'Ālamgīrī, p. 161, it is stated that Rāja Indarman—he is called Bundla—died in 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.). Mr. Silberrad in his account of W. Bundelkhand (*Journ. A. Soc. Benqal* for 1902, p. 116) says that Indarman was the son of Pahar Singh the brother of Champat and that he died in 1673, leaving a son, Jaswant Singh. It appears from the 'Ālamgīrnāma that he afterwards served in the Sivāls and in the Deccan, see pp. 517, 533, and 989.

² For his account, see *Maāthir-ul-Ūmarā*, Text I, pp. 174-180, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 315-319. His name there is A'zam Khān Mir Muḥammad Bāqir, otherwise Irādat Khān.

³ The language used would seem to imply that one or both of Irādat Khān's brothers were killed at the battle of Sāmūgarh on 8th June, 1658 A.D. (see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 383), but histories show that this was not the case. Perhaps the meaning is that Irādat Khān had distinguished himself in that battle.

⁴ See 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 119, where reference is made to his earlier dismissal, and to his being raised to the rank of 2,500, with 1,500 horse.

⁵ 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 127. The increase was 1,500 personal with 500 horse.

Inasmuch as it is an old habit with the envious heavens to destroy achievements, he had made only a few steps in the field of success when he tripped and fell. That is, after two months and some days he, in the month of Dhūl Hijjā, 1068 A H (August, 1658 A D) passed ¹ away from this transitory world. His first marriage was with a daughter of Mirzā Badī'uz-Zamān, the son of Āqā Mullā, the brother of Āsaf Khān Ja'far. His second was with the daughter of Zāhid Khān Kōka. His eldest son by her was Muḥammad Ja'far, who was honest and renowned. He died, and his brother Mīr Mubārak Ullāh was made *faujdar* of Chākna ² in the 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr. Afterwards, he received his father's title. In the 40th year, he was made ³ *faujdar* of Aurangābād, and had a commission of 700 with 1,000 horse. After that he was made *faujdar* of Mandsūr ⁴ in Mālwa, and in the time of Bahādur Shāh he became a favourite of the Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān and his intimate friend. He was nominated to the *faujdarī* of the Dūāb of Patan Jālandhar. He had a taste for various kinds of knowledge and had developed a very delicate sense for poetic composition. His poetical name was *Wādih* ⁵ (Evident) and he is the author of a *divān*.

Verse

My heart is jealous of nought but the enjoyment of the beloved,
Life received one garment, and that too a shroud.

In the time of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar he died ⁶. His son Mīr Hidāyat Ullāh who received the title of Hōshdar Khān and afterwards of Irādat Khān was in the time of Bahādur Shāh *faujdar* of Nūrmahl in the Panjāb and was also for a long time *faujdar* of Deeg in Mālwa. In the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign he came to the Deccan with Āsaf Jāh, and after the battle with Mubārīz Khān, he for some time was *Divān* of the Deccan, in succession to the deceased Dīyānat Khān ⁷ and held a commission of 4,000. He lived for a long time at Aurangābād, and at last was appointed the governor of the fort of Gulbarga. In the Trichinopoly ⁸ expedition he accompanied Āsaf Jāh, and died on the way back near Aurangābād in 1157 A H (1744 A D). He was a skilled soldier, even in old age he did not lay aside his weapons. He spoke much and was well known for sword-practice ⁹. His poetry was without distinction. He was much addicted to women and had many children. His grown-up sons died in his lifetime. At the time of writing his son Hāfiz Khān is the governor of the fort of Gulbarga.

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 202

² Islāmābād Chākna in the Cōncan, *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 331

³ *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 383

⁴ The Marōsōr in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 208, and Mandsor of the maps

⁵ Rieu, III, p. 938. It is curious that the *Maāthir ul-Umarā* does not mention his history which seems to be his most important work. See Elliot, VII, p. 534 and Scott's *History of the Deccan*

⁶ Irādat Khān died in 1128 A.H. (1716 A.D.)

⁷ An ancestor of the author

⁸ In March, 1743, vide *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 384

⁹ *Shamshēr shīnāsī* might also mean connoisseurship in swords

ĪRAJ KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 268-272)

He was the son of Qazalbāsh Khān Afshār. In his father's lifetime he became known for his rectitude and ability, and did courageous deeds. As the Superintendent of the artillery in the Deccan he acquired fame by his skill and disinterestedness. When his father, the governor of the fort of Ahmadnagar, died in the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1 500 horse, the title of Khān, and the charge of the said fort. As a result of his high spirit and generosity he did not let his father's men be dispersed, but kept all of them as soldiers or servants (*shāgird-pēsha*). He sought fame, and because of honest mindedness he took his father's debts upon himself and set himself to support his relations and kindred. In the 24th year, he had an increase of 500 and on the death of Qazzāq Khān, he became *thānadār* of Pathrī in the Deccan. He afterwards came to the Court, and, in the 25th year, was made *Mir Tuzuk*. When Prince Dārā Shikōh was appointed with a large army to the Qandahār expedition, Īraj Khān was made *Balshī* and given a flag. On his return, he was raised to the *faujdārī* of Jammū and Kāngra and received a grant of 57 estates in that hill-country. In the 30th year when Prince Aurangzib was made *Nāzim* of the Deccan and appointed to chastise 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and to ravage his territory, Īraj Khān was sent in company with Mir Jumla who had been appointed to assist the Prince with a large army of auxiliaries. After the Prince had taken the fort of Bīdar he sent Īraj Khān with Naṣrat Khān and Kārtalab Khān to Ahmadnagar as the men of Sīvā (Shivājī) and Manājī Bhōnsle had stirred up strife there. When the incident of Shāh Jahān's illness occurred, Dārā Shikōh, who was lying in wait for his opportunity and was always intent upon defeating his brothers, but was unable to carry out his plans issued strict orders and sent out *sazāwals*¹ for the presence at the Court of the officers in charge of the auxiliaries. Īraj Khān, who was closely connected with Dārā Shikōh and styled himself Dārāshikōhī took the road to Upper India in company with Mu'taqid Khān, the eldest son of Najābat Khān. They say that the Prince (Aurangzib) had written to Vazīr Khān the *Nā'ib* at Burhānpūr to practise conciliation upon the two, and to keep an eye upon them, or else to use deceit and stratagem and to arrest them. When they came near the city in question the said Khān invited them to a feast, and they wished to accept, but they came to know that there was a half-cup² (saucer) under the cup. They immediately set off and from the banks of the Nerbādā Īraj Khān sent off by the hands of the Prince's couriers this couplet which evidently was intended for Vazīr Khān

¹ For *Sazāwals*, see Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms*, p. 473 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42, note.

² *Zēr kāsā nīmī āsa hast* is a phrase for a trick. See *Bahār* i-*'Ajām* lith. edition, p. 479, the metaphor is taken from a wrestling trick.

employed in service, he had some knowledge of poetry and language and was generally well-informed. This verse is by him.

Verse

Regard not as idle the superscription on a gold coin,
It is an incantation which can evoke a fairy.

He was granted his father's title and was for some time *tahšildār* of Chāndā. At last he fell into difficulties and could not get a hold anywhere. He went off to the Carnātic and spent some time at Bīlāghāt, Carnātic, in the company of ‘Abd-un-Nabī Khān Mīyāna, later he went to the Pāvānghāt and died there. He had no children. Even in old age he was not without physical beauty, and was a friend of the writer. May God forgive him!

IRSHĀD KHĀN MĪR ABŪL-‘ALĀ

(Vol I, pp 290, 291)

He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Amānat Khān Khawāfī¹. He was for a long time in the *Sūba* of Kābul. In the 12nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he came to Court and on the death of Kifāvat Khān was made *Dīrān* of the *Khālṣa*. On account of his honesty and trustworthiness and his success in affairs he became favourite to such an extent that he was envied by his contemporaries. As the envious heavens are not pleased to see anyone prosper and are always throwing the stone of disturbance at the glasshouses of men's desires, he had not lived many days in comfort when in the 45th year, 1112 A H (1700-01 A D) he died. His eldest son Mīr Ghulām Husain had the title of Kifāvat Khān. Two of his sons survived one Mīr Haidar, who at last got his father's title, and the second Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad who was granted the title of his grandfather.

‘ISĀ KHĀN MABĪN²

(Vol II, pp 825-828)

He is also called Manbah. He belonged to a branch of the Ranghīr³ tribe which regards itself as belonging to a Rājput clan. Most of them live in the *Challa* of Sirhind and the Patha⁴ Dūāb and carry on agriculture and are landholders. Nor do they withhold their hands

¹ For his life, see *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text I, pp 258-268, and Beveridge's translation, pp 221-230.

² Also written Main and Mahin. Khafī Khān, II, p 767, has Muhmand.

³ The Rangar of Elliot's *Supp Glossary*, I, p 4, and note. They are Rājputs who have been converted to Muhammadanism. But it is stated by Mr Williams, *Historical Sketches, Calcutta Review Selections*, 2nd Series, III, p 228, that the word Ranghur means in Sahāranpūr a Rājput of any denomination, and not only a convert to Islām.

⁴ Patha is evidently wrong. There is the reading Thatha, but probably the true reading is Etah which is the northernmost district of the Agra Division, and lies on the eastern edge of the middle Dūāb.

from highway robbery and other kinds of robberies. In former times 'Isā's ancestors were not reckoned as landholders. His grandfather Būlāqī exerted himself and acquired a name. As he advanced in power, he practised robbery and plunder and attacked caravans. Then he collected a force and robbed as far as his arm could reach. Gradually, by force he took possession of men's lands and became powerful. In the battle with A'zam Shāh (in 1707 A.D.) he, in company with Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn fought well and got a name for courage and was given a *mansab*. In the conflicts which took place at Lāhōre between the princes he attended on Jahāndār Shāh with a well-equipped force, and in the confusion, acquired much plunder, he carried off all the treasure carts, and no one questioned him. After the victory he received the rank of 5000 and the *faujdārī* of the Dūāb Patha and of Lakhī Jangal. From being a petty landholder he became an *Amīr* and a confidential officer. As opportunism and a careful study of the situation are the marks of *Zamīndārs* particularly of usurpers, who always indulge in creating disturbances, so when Jahāndār Shāh fell 'Isā became altogether a rebel and plundered everywhere. He attacked the caravans of Delhi and Lāhōre as if they were his source of revenue and had frequent fights with the *faujdārs*. By cunning and by letters and presents he established an alliance with Samsīm-ud-Daula Khān Daurān and thereby increased his presumption and oppression. The *Jāgīrdārs* of the neighbourhood could not collect a *dām* of their rents. From the banks of the Bivās where he had made a fort called Bādrē-ā, to the town of Thārah in Sirhind which is on the Sutlej, he was in possession of the entire territory, and no one had the courage to interfere with him.

As 'Abd-us Samad Dilr Jang the governor of Lāhōre was annoyed by his conduct he, after the affair of the Sikhs had been disposed of, made Shāhulād Khān Khwēshgī—who was a brave man—*faujdār* of that neighbourhood and commissioned him to extirpate 'Isā. Though Husām Khān (Khwēshgī)—the lord of the Khān—and the head of the turbulent men of the period—was not willing that 'Isā should be extirpated because of the idea that as long as he existed, people would not trouble themselves about him (Husām Khān)—an idea which is correct as his biography shows—all Shāhulād Khān was bound to carry out the governor's orders. When in the beginning of the 7th year of Farrukh siyar's reign¹ the armies met near the town of Thārah which was 'Isā's birth-place and where he had been brought up—he joined battle with 3000 gallant horse and fought vehemently.² Shāhulād Khān could not withstand him and turned to flee. By chance a bull charged 'Isā's father Daulat Khān—who lived at ease by his son's fortune—*ghadit* and he was killed. 'Isā Khān drove his elephant against Shāhulād Khān who was riding a small female elephant and struck him twice or three times with his sword. Just then a bullet reached him and there was retribution for his action. His head was cut off and by the order of the governor it was sent to the Court. After that he *zūnīd* returned to

¹ A.D. 1717 as far as the extirpation of 'Isā is concerned. See the Appendix to the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 171.

² The account of the battle is given in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 171. The account of the battle is given in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 1, p. 171.

his son, who manages it in the ordinary *zamīndārī* fashion No one of the tribe acquired such a name as 'Isā¹

(MIRZĀ) 'ISĀ TARKHĀN

(Vol III, pp 485-488)

His father was Jān Bābā uncle of the father² of Mirzā Jānī Bēg³ the ruler of Sindh When Mirzā Jānī died 'Isā became agitated by a desire for rule Khusrau Khān the Circassian, who was the chief *Vakīl* of the family, placed Mirzā Ghāzī in his father's place, and wished to imprison 'Isā He had the good fortune to escape from that country and to arrive at the Court Jahāngīr gave him a high rank and appointed him to the Deccan When Mirzā Ghāzī died as governor of Qandahār, Khusrau Khān placed upon the *Tarkhānī masnad* 'Abdul 'Alī a member of the family, and thought that he himself would be the real ruler As Jahāngīr suspected that 'Abdul 'Alī might, with the help of Khusrau Khān, become independent there, he sent a *faimān* to 'Isā Khān When the latter came to the Court to pay his respects, some envious people represented that 'Isā had for a long time *put the horse-shoe in the fire* (i.e. been plotting) with the wish of becoming the ruler of the country, and that if he were now confirmed he might join the governors of Kachh and Mekrān and Hurmuz (Ormuz), who were near at hand and seek the alliance of Shāh 'Abbās Safavī and that it would take a long time to redress the evils so caused The King became suspicious and appointed Mirzā Rustam of Qandahār to the government By his exertions the whole plant of the Tarkhāns was uprooted from that country and Mirzā 'Isā was made *yagīrdār* of Dhanpūr in Gujarāt and appointed to that province When Shāh Jahān after his failure left Sindh, and came⁴ by the Rann and the country of Bhāra⁵ in Gujarāt and returned to the Deccan, the Mirzā had the good luck to present to him money, stores, horses and camels, and so lay the foundation of good fortune for himself

Accordingly, after the death of Jahāngīr, the Mirzā came to Āgra and appeared at the Court He received an increase of 2,000 with 1,300 horse and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and the government of Sindh But afterwards the administration of the country was, of necessity, given to Shēr Khwāja who was styled Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and the Mirzā had to return from the Court without gaining his object He received the fief of Mathurā,⁶ and, in the 5th year, the number of his troopers was increased, and he was sent off to the *yāgīr* of Ichhpūr In the 8th year, he had an increase of 1,000 and 1,000 horse and obtained the rank of

¹ There is some account of 'Isā in Khāfī Khān, II, p 767, where he is called 'Isā Khān Mohmand

² That is, he was grand uncle of Jānī Bēg See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 392, note 2

³ There was an earlier Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān son of Mirzā 'Abdul 'Alī who died in 974 A H, *vide* Elliot, I, p 325

⁴ *Barāhzan*, but it should be Rann, i.e. Rann of Cutch

⁵ Khāfī Khān, I, p 383, mentions Shāh Jahān's leaving Sindh for the Deccan

⁶ 'Isāpūr a suburb of Mathurā is named after him, see Growse, *Mathura*, p 175

5,000 with 4,000 horse, two-horse and three-horse, and was made *faujdār* of the Sarkār of Sōrath. In the 15th year, he was made governor of Gujarāt in succession to A'zam Khān. The charge of Sōrath was given to his eldest son 'Ināyat Ullāh who had the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. After the Mirzā was removed from the government, he received again charge of Jūnāgarh, and, in the 25th¹ year, the defence of that country was entrusted to his second son Muḥammad Sāhh, and the Mirzā was summoned to the Court. In Muḥarram, 1062, he had reached the town of Sāmbhar where he died². Though he was over 100 years old his natural force was not abated. He still had youthful lusts and was much addicted to pleasure and drinking. He was not without skill in music. He had many children. 'Ināyat Ullāh, his eldest son, who was an officer of high rank, died in the 21st year of the reign. Most of his sons died in the Mirzā's lifetime. After his death Mirzā Muḥammad Sāhh who was the best of them (i.e. of those who survived him) and of whom a separate account (Text III, pp 560-562) has been given, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Faṭh Ullāh attained the rank of 500, and 'Aqil received a suitable rank.

(MŪ'TAMAN-UD-DAULA) ISHĀQ KHĀN

(Vol III, pp 774-776)

His father came to India from Shūstar and settled in Delhi. In the reign of Maḥammad Shāh he entered the service and received the title of Ghulām 'Alī Khān. He was made *Bakāwal* (Clerk of the kitchen). Ishāq Khān was born in India, and, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh he became *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the 22nd year, or 1152³ (1739 A.D.) he died. He composed poetry. This verse is his

As my small heart was full of thoughts of that rose (beloved),
The flute of my sleep last night was the whistling nightingale

He left three sons. The eldest was Mirzā Muḥammad who, like his father, was an intimate of Muḥammad Shāh and an object of envy to his contemporaries. At first he was called Ishāq Khān but later received the title of Najm-ud-Daula. He was appointed as 4th *Bakhshī*. Maḥammad Shāh gave his sister⁴ in marriage to Shujā'-ud-Daula the son of Safdar Jang. After Muḥammad Shāh's death he was retained as *Bakhshī* in Ahmad Shāh's time and appointed *Krōrī*⁵ of Delhi. When Safdar Jang had his fights with the Bangash Afghāns, who are found in the northern part of the Delhi Province, and a battle took place between the towns of Sālī and Sahāwar, in which Safdar Jang was defeated

¹ On p 560 of Vol III of the Text of *Maāthir ul Umarā* the year is given as the 24th.

² It is stated in Elliot, I, p 302, that 'Isā Tarkhān died at the age of ninety five in 1061 A.H., 1651 A.D. Sāmbhar in Rājputāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp 21, 22.

³ Muḥammad Ishāq Khān Mū'taman-ud-Daula died in April, 1741 (*vide Irvine, Journ. As Soc. Bengal* for 1879, p 67).

⁴ She was the Bhāo Bēgam of Faizābād (Irvine, *loc cit*, p 67).

⁵ For *Krōrī*, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp 41, 42, note, he was "the collector of a revenue area yielding one *Kror* of Dam, i.e., 2½ lakhs of rupees", also pp 86, 87.

Najm-ud-Daula showed courage and was killed ¹ (1163 A H , 6th July, 1750 A D) Mū'taman-ud-Daula had two other sons, Mīrzā 'Alī Iftikhar-ud-Daula and Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Sālār Jang In the reign of 'Ālamgīr II, they were proceeding from Delhī to Safdar Jang's camp, but it chanced that Safdar Jang died at this time, and the two brothers in 1168 went to Shujā'-ud-Daula in Oudh Afterwards Sālār Jang was made *Bakhshī* by Shāh 'Ālam

ISKANDAR KHĀN ŪZBEG

(Vol I, pp 84-87)

He was a descendant of the princes of that tribe He did good service under Humāyūn and obtained the title of Khān at the beginning of the expedition to India, and after the conquest he was appointed governor of Āgra On the occasion of Hēmū he left Āgra and joined Tardī Bēg Khān in Delhī, and in the battle commanded the left wing The imperial vanguard and left wing defeated the right wing of the enemy and pursued them, and obtained much plunder 3,000 of the enemy were slain At this juncture Hēmū attacked Tardī Bēg Khān and drove him into flight The victors were astonished when they returned and had to follow Tardī Bēg Iskandar Khān came to Sirhind to Akbar, and was appointed to the vanguard of the army against Hēmū along with 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān After the victory he was despatched to pursue the fugitives and to protect Delhī from plunderers He made haste and killed many and obtained much booty He was rewarded by the title of Khān 'Ālam

When Khidr Khwāja Khān, the governor of the Panjāb retreated before Sikandar Khān Sūr—who had designs against the country—and set about fortifying Lāhore, and Sikandar Khān taking advantage of this opportunity set about collecting revenue from the province, Akbar instantly gave Iskandar Khān Siyālkōt, etc , in fief, and sent him off to assist Khidr Khwāja After that he was rewarded with the fief of Oudh As ease and comfort make the turbulent and opportunists seditious, Iskandar Khān, in the 10th year, left the straight path and became a rebel Ashraf Khān was sent from the Court to conciliate him and to bring him to the Presence He, after some prevarications, went off to Khān Zamān, and they together raised the standard of revolt Iskandar Khān in company with Bahādur Khān Shaibānī fought near Khairābād with Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad, who had been deputed by His Majesty to chastise him Though in the end Bahādur Khān obtained the victory, Iskandar Khān was defeated in the first attack and fled In the 12th year when Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān again rebelled, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās was sent with a large force against Iskandar Khān, who was behaving contumaciously in Oudh There was fighting between them for a time When news came of the deaths of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, Iskandar Khān had recourse to fraud and stratagem, and proposed peace After spending some time in this way he put his family and belongings into some boats which he had kept ready for this purpose and crossed the river He sent a message that he was still of

¹ See Irvine, *loc cit* , p. 75

the same mind and was shortly coming in. As his heart and his tongue were not in accord, the officers crossed the river and followed him. He went off to Gōrakhpūr, which was then in the possession of the Afghāns, and went to Sulaimān Karārānī, the ruler of Bengāl. He marched in company with the latter's son (Bāyazīd) to conquer Orissa. When he returned, the Afghāns did not think that his presence among them was proper, and plotted against him. He came to know of it and petitioned the Khān-Khānān who was in Jaunpūr. The latter consulted His Majesty, and giving Iskandar Khān hopes summoned him. Iskandar Khān came quickly to the Khān-Khānān. Khān-Khānān in the 17th year, 979 A H, took him with him to the Emperor, and at the intercession of this officer Iskandar Khān was pardoned, and received the *Sarkār* of Lucknow in fief. At the time of departure he received a dress of honour (*Chārgab*), a waist-dagger, an ornamented sword and a horse with a gilded saddle, and was appointed to join the Khān-Khānān. Some time after reaching Lucknow he fell ill, and on 10th Jumāda I, 980 A H (18th September, 1572 A D) he died. He had the rank of 3,000¹

ISLĀM KHĀN CHISHTI FARŪQI

(Vol I, pp 118-120)

His name was 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, and he was a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Fathpūrī. He was endowed with an excellent disposition and abundance of good qualities and was pre-eminent among his friends and connections. In virtue of his being connected by fosterage with Jahāngīr he held a royal office and received much honour. The sister of the well-known 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Fadl was married to him. When Jahāngīr became the King, he received the title of Islām Khān and an office of 5,000, and was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 3rd year, he was made, after the death of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Bēg, the governor of Bengāl. As² that country had from the time of Shēr Shāh been in the possession of Afghān officers, large armies were sent there in Akbar's time under the leadership of high officials, and for a long time there was much fighting, etc. At last the Afghāns were extirpated, but remnants of the tribe continued to exist on the frontiers. Among them 'Uthmān Khān, the son of Qutlū Lōhānī, became prominent, and several times engaged in battle with the imperial troops. This was especially so in the time of Rāja Mān Singh, who in spite of his efforts, was unable to uproot the thorn of 'Uthmān Khān's rebellion. When Islām Khān's turn came, he arranged an army³ under the leadership of Shaikh Kabīr Suhjā'at Khān—who was nearly related to him—and it set out along with auxiliary officers, from Akbar-nagar (Rājmaḥal) against 'Uthmān Khān and after achievements which put the masterpieces of Rustam and Isfandiyār into oblivion—as has been fully detailed in the account of that officer (Text II, pp 630-633)—

¹ Apparently this Iskandar Khān was the son of Sa'id Khān and is the man mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Ehas and Ross's translation, p 340, etc.

² Apparently from *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p 60 *et seq*.

³ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp 586-588. *Riyāḍ us Salātīn* (translation) has an account of the battle on pp 174-179, but the above is copied from the *Iqbāl-nāma*, *loc cit*.

'Uthmān Khān was sent to annihilation and his brother (Wali Khān) made his submission. As a reward for this good service, he, in the 7th year was promoted to the rank of 6,000. In the 8th year¹, 1022 A H (1613 A D) his life came to an end. His body was conveyed to Fathpūr, which was his birth place and where his ancestors were buried. His history is a strange one. His virtue and gravity were such that probably, in all his life, he never took part in drunkenness or other forbidden things. Yet in spite of this, all the saltatory troops in the whole of the province of Bengāl consisting of *lūli*, *hūrkanī*², *lanchnī* (dancing-girls) and *dōmnī* (gypsies) were his servants and received from him Rs 80,000 a month, or nine lacs, sixty thousand a year. Men stood holding trays of jewels and silken stuffs, and he distributed them in presents. He carried the customs of high office (*tūzul-i-amārat*) to such a pitch that he used the *gharōka*³ (lattice) for exhibiting himself to high and low, and the private parlour (*Ghuslkhāna*) which are things fitting only for kings⁴. He also had elephant-fights. He was not particular about his dress and wore a skull-cap (*tāqīya*) under his turban. He wore a shirt under his tunic. From the dishes on his table 1,000 poor were abundantly fed, but first they set before him bread of millet (*juuār* and *bājra*) and vegetables (*sāg*) and dry rice called *sāthī*⁵. His spirit and liberality threw the story of Hātim and Ma'an into oblivion. During his government of Bengāl he distributed 1,200 elephants to his *maṣabbārs* (officers) and servants. Altogether he supported 20,000 persons, horse and foot who belonged to the clan of Shaikhzādas. His son Ikram Khān Hūshang was the child of Shaikh Abūl Fadl's sister. For a while he held an appointment in the Deccan. In the end of Jahāngīr's reign he became the governor of the fort of Āsīr. A daughter of Shēr Khān Tōnvar lived in his house (i.e. was married to him). He did not get on with her, and her brothers took her away. In spite of his descent from such a family he was an oppressor. In the middle of Shāh Jahān's reign he was, for certain reasons, removed from his fief and office of 2,000 and 1,000 horse, and made a recipient of payment in cash (*naqdī*)⁶. He became a hermit in Fathpūr and had charge of the shrine of Shaikh Salīm. He died in the 24th year. His half-brother Shaikh Mu'azzam was appointed to the charge of the shrine, and in the 26th year he was made *faujdar* of Fathpūr, and held the rank of 1,800, substantive and with increments. In the battle of Sāmūgarh⁷, when he was in the *altmish*⁸ of Dārā Shukōh's army, he died bravely⁹.

¹ 5th Rajab, 1022 A.H., 21st August, 1613, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzul-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 257.

² In Haughton's *Bengali Dictionary* the form is *hūrlaniyā* and *hūrki*, and the definition is—a woman who refuses to live with her husband.

³ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p. 358, note 2. See also *ibid*, p. 325, where Jahāngīr forbade *Amīrs* to use the *gharōka*, and Aurangzib abolished it altogether.

⁴ For a detailed account of the Prerogatives of the Emperor, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 133-147.

⁵ *Sāthī* rice, so called because it ripens in sixty days after being sown.

⁶ This cash in exchange of *Jāgīr* was better known as *'aad-i-jāgīr*.

⁷ Date of battle was 8th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 383.

⁸ Advance guard of the centre, Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 226.

⁹ The biography of Islām Khān appears to be inaccurate. It is not mentioned that he removed the headquarters of the government of Bengāl from Rājmaḥal to Dacca, to which he gave the name of Jahāngīrnagar. See Elliot, VI, p. 328.

ISLĀM KHĀN MASHHADI

(Vol I, pp 162-167)

He was Mir 'Abd-us-Salām, and had the title of Ikhtisās Khān. He was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. At first he did secretary's work. In 1030, the 15th year of Jahāngīr—when the royal standards went for the second time to redress the affairs of the Deccan, the Mir was made *Vakil* of the Darbār (i.e. Shāh Jahān's agent at his father's Court) with a suitable rank and the title of Ikhtisās Khān. At the time when Jahāngīr was estranged from the Prince, he was recalled from the Court and joined Shāh Jahān and in the troubles that ensued did not try to part from him. Afterwards, when the fort of Junair was made Shāh Jahān's residence, he was sent to Bijāpūr to convey to the heir Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh condolences for the death of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. He performed the duty satisfactorily, and when Shāh Jahān became the King, he waited upon him with a valuable present, and was given the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and the title of Islām Khān, and appointed 2nd¹ *Bakhshī*—a department in which none but confidential servants can be employed. When Shāh Jahān went to the south to put down Khān Jahān Lōdī, he was appointed as the governor of Āgra. When Shēr Khān Tōnvar the *Nāzim* of Gujarāt died in the 4th year, Islām Khān was made a *manṣabdār* of 5,000 and the governor of that province. In the end of the 6th year, he became Mir² *Bakhshī*, the words *Bakhshī-i-mumālīk* give the date, 1043 A H (1633-34 A D). In the 8th year, he was appointed governor of the extensive province of Bengāl in place of A'zam Khān, and there opened wide the gates of victory. He chastised the Assamese properly and captured the son-in-law of the ruler of Āssām, and conquered forts so quickly that in the space of two³ *pahars* (6 hours) he took fifteen forts⁴. He also took Srīghāt and Pāndū and established *thānas* in the whole of Kūch Hājū. Also, in the 11th year, he captured 500 of their boats. Mānik Rāi the brother of the ruler of the Maghs—who was in possession of Chittāgong—solicited the protection of Islām Khān owing to the ascendancy of the Arracanese, and came to him in the 12th year, 1048, 1638, in Jahāngīrnagar, commonly known as Dhāka (Dacca). In the 13th year, Islām Khān was summoned to the

There are passing references to Islām Khān in the *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*. From these it appears that he was brought up with Jahāngīr and that he was one year his junior. He was, therefore, born in 1570, and was 43 when he died. He is buried at Fathpur Sikri where there is a massive monument built over his grave.

¹ *Bakhshī dūvam u 'Arq mularrar*—2nd *Bakhshī* and officer of the Revision department. As Irvine has shown, '*Arq mularrar*' is the Superintendent of revision, vide *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp 18, 42.

² That is, 1st *Bakhshī*. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 542.

³ Blochmann, *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, XLI, for 1872, p 61, has "Before noon".

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 85, and Blochmann, *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, XLI, p 61. He translates the word fort by stookade. Islām Khān's first personal expedition was in the 11th year. For the son-in-law's capture and death, see *loc cit*, p 88. He was apparently Sang Dēo's son-in-law. For capture of the 500 boats, see p 88. The account of Āssām and of the campaign, etc. in the *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp 64-90, is very full. Māndū is Pāndū in it. Part of the account is translated in Elliot, VII, p 65 *et seq*. The most complete translation is that by Blochmann noticed above. The campaign occurred in the autumn and winter of 1637 in the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Presence and received charge of the high office of *vazīr*. When Khān Daurān¹ Naṣrat Jang, governor of the Deccan was killed, Islām Khān at the New Year's feast of the 19th year obtained the rank of 6,000 *Ḍilāt* and horse and the government of that province. His brother, sons and son-in-law also had suitable increases and accompanied him.

They say, that when the news came of Khān Daurān's death, Shāh Jahān told Islām Khān to decide who was fit for that government. He went home and told his counsellors and well-wishers what the King had said. After deliberation he mentioned what came into his mind, namely his own name. They said to him "How can this be right? The post of the Premier and the proximity to the King cannot be staked against the government of the Deccan." He said, "I agree, but what has occurred to the King is that Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—to whom he is partial—should be made *Vazīr* and he has sent for him under a pretext. I fear that I may be superseded. Under these circumstances what better can I do?" All approved of his decision. The same day about the end of the sessions he, contrary to custom and rule, appeared at the Court with his sword girt on and with his shield. The King asked him the cause of this, and he replied that an order had been given to choose someone for the Deccan. No one appeared to him to be suitable except himself. The King approved and asked as to who should be made the Deputy *Vazīr*. He said there was no better man for this than Sa'ad Ullāh Khān. This was also approved. When he was arranging for his departure Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was confirmed in the *Vazārat-i-kull* (Chief Minister). All perceived the good judgment and right thinking of Islām Khān. In the 20th year, he was raised to the high rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse.

When he came from Burhānpūr to Aurangābād illness prevailed over him, and he perceived that it was the time for his last journey. In accordance with the advice of Chatr Bhōj, the writer on his establishment, and Khwāja 'Ambar the *mutṣaddī* (clerk) of his *jāgīr*, he burnt his records and clandestinely divided² his property among his sons and brothers and other persons of his household and sent a statement of Rs 25³ lacs to the King. On 14th Shawwāl of the 21st year, 1057 A H (12th November, 1647 A D) he died, and in accordance with his will he was buried in Aurangābād. The tomb and garden which were made, though old, remain in good condition to this day. Khwāja 'Ambar remained⁴ seated at the head of the tomb. Shāh Jahān heard of what had taken place (about the property), but, in consideration of his long service, overlooked the occurrence and promoted every one of his sons in accordance with their deserts and gave them employment. Chatr Bhōj he made *Divān* of Mālwa.

Islām Khān had a full knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences and of elegant compositions and of calligraphy. In reference to royal business he was jealous (lit. greedy), and did not want that anyone should have possession of it. He did his work with strictness and severity, and the men of the Deccan, who had been tormented by Khān Daurān,

¹ The second officer who bore that title. He was assassinated at Lāhōre (Beale), properly four miles from Lāhōre, and died on 7th Jumāda I, 1055 A H or 1st July, 1645 A D, vide *Māthīr-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 767.

² Text *lārda*, MS *gufta*.

³ Text 25 lacs which is surely wrong. MS has only Rs 25.

⁴ Apparently the meaning is that he took charge of the tomb.

did not¹ have their eyes salved (i.e., cured or wiped dry) But he exerted himself to improve the country He sold the stones of the forts at a profit and made new arrangements He had on his establishment a good supply of horses and elephants, and though he had not the power to mount on horseback, yet he laboured hard in taking good care of the horses He had six sons Among them, Ashraf Khān (Text I, pp 272-274), Safī Khān (Text II, pp 740-742) and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān (Text II, pp 812, 813) have been separately noticed His third son Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf was, after his death, raised to the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse In the 22nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he went on the Qandahār campaign with Sultān Muḥammad Aurangzib In the 24th year, he was made Superintendent (Dārōgha) of the jewelled weapons Afterwards he was made *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the Capital At last he was made clerk of the port of Sūrat At the time of Shāh Jahān's illness, when Sultān Murād Bakhsh aimed at the sovereignty, he was seized and imprisoned The 4th son Mīr Muḥammad Ghuyāth, after his father's death, rose to the rank of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 28th year became *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Burhānpūr, and Superintendent of the wardrobe (*Karkirāqhlāna*) there In the time of Aurangzib he was again (?) appointed clerk of the port of Sūrat, and *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Aurangābād In the 22nd year (of Aurangzib) he died The sixth, Mīr 'Abd-ur-Rahmān was sent off in the 16th year of Aurangzib as the Chamberlain (*Hajābat*) of Haidarābād Sūba, and for some time was *Bakhshī* and Reporter of Aurangābād and also for a time he was Master of the horse and *Dārōgha-i-'Ard mukarrar* or Superintendent of Revision department

ISLĀM KHĀN MĪR DIYĀ-UD-DĪN HUSAIN BADAKHSHI.

(Vol I, pp 217-220)

He was an old *Wālā-Shāhī* (household-trooper) of Aurangzib He spent his life in his service and always did well At the time when Aurangzib was a prince he was *Divān* of the Prince's establishment (*Sarkār-i-Shāhī*) When the influence of Dārā Shikōh, owing to the kindness of Shāh Jahān, was so great that whatever he wished done in the affairs of the *Saltanat* was carried out, the Prince resolved to set out ostensibly to wait upon his father, but really to remove his elder brother—and in the beginning of Jumāda I, 1068 A H (5th February, 1658 A D) he sent off his eldest son Sultān Muḥammad along with *Najābat Khān* as an advance-guard from Aurangābād to Burhānpūr, and Mīr Dhiyā-ud-Dīn who till then had acted as the *Divān*—was sent with Sultān Muḥammad Afterwards the Prince himself came to Burhānpūr, and encamped at the garden *Farmānbūrī*² which is a mile from the city, and the Mīr received the title of *Himmat Khān* After the battle with

¹ The text here seems corrupt By missing the word *dāshland* in the text the meaning becomes clear as the Deccanis did not have their eyes cured under Islām Khān, i.e., they still had to weep, but the prosperity of the country was increased

² *Ilamqirnāma*, pp 50, 51 Full details of the march are given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp 314-347 See also the later chapters for the details of the struggle for the throne

Jaswant he received the title of Islām Khān. In the battle with Dārā Shikōh when Rustam Khān Deccanī put Bahādūr Khān Kōka into difficulties, the Mīr advanced with the right wing and fought manfully. After the victory, when it became essential to pursue Dārā Shikōh, Muḥammad Sultān, under the guardianship of Islām Khān, was appointed to manage the affairs of the Capital, and Islām Khān obtained a commission of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and a present of Rs 30,000¹. In the battle with Shujā', he was in the vanguard of the right wing, and when Rāja Jaswant, who was in command of the right wing and from treachery and rebelliousness took the road of desertion, the Khān² became the leader in his place. It chanced that in the heat of the engagement the elephant³ on which he was riding took fright on being struck with a rocket and threw the troops into confusion. Many men fled. At this time the King came in person to assist and heartened the others who had not left the field. After the victory Islām Khān went with Sultān Muḥammad who had been appointed along with Mu'azzam Khān Mīr Jumla, and other officers to go in pursuit of Shujā'.

When Shujā' went away full of despair from Akbarnagar to Tānda, Mu'azzam Khān left Islām Khān with 10,000 horse in Akbarnagar (Rāj-mahal) and entrusted to him the charge of defending that side of the Ganges. When on 5th Sha'bān of the 2nd year (28th April, 1659 A.D.) Shujā' being oppressed by the blows of Mu'azzam Khān fled to Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca) so that he might convey his ruined fortunes to Arrācān, Islām Khān in the same month, on account of his dislike⁴ of the general, or because he was distressed by his privations (?), went off to the Presence without being summoned. On this account he was for a time deprived of his rank and reprimanded. In the 3rd year, he was restored to his former rank. In the 4th year, he was made governor of Kashmīr in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān. When the royal army proceeded to that ever vernal and flowery land, Islām Khān, in obedience to an order, waited upon the King at Naushahra, which is an extensive and populous *pargana*, and the second stage on the road to the hills, in the beginning of the 6th year. His rank was advanced by an increase of 1,000 horse and he had a *mansab* of 5,000 with 3,000 horse, and was made governor of Āgra. A full month had not elapsed after his arrival at that city when the messenger of death arrived in the beginning of 1074 A.H. (1663 A.D.) Ghani⁵ of Kashmīr composed the chronogram of his death.

Murid Islām Khān Wālā Jāh (Islām Khān of elevated dignity is dead 1074)

He was buried in the tomb of the lord of knowledge and certainty Mīr Muḥammad Nu'mān⁶—May God's peace be upon him!—in whom the Khān had placed great reliance, and near whose tomb he had built a lofty mosque. The date of building is *Bānī Islām Khān Bahādūr*, Islām Khān Bahādūr is the builder (1058 A.H., 1648 A.D.). He also built the 'Idgāh mosque in Kashmīr, which is a very lofty and substantial

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 34

² ³ Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 54, 57

⁴ *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 555

His name was Muḥammad Tāhūr, *vide* Rieu, II, p. 692a

⁶ But perhaps some Kashmīrī saint is meant. There was a Mīr Nu'mān to whom Islām Khān was related, see *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 627, and as is mentioned below in the text

edifice His heir was Himmat Khān Mīr Bak̄shī One of his daughters was married to Mīr Ibrāhīm, the son of Mīr Nu'mān The said Mīr went ¹ off in the second year to convey to Mecca properties worth six lacs and 10,000 rupees which Aurangzib had sent for the holy places, and died there in the 4th year In short, Islām Khān was not devoid of perfections He had a poetic bent of mind These two verses of his are well known

Verse

Without thee, grief's evening makes a night-attack on my day,
The pupil of my eye is from weeping drowned in blood
Make a pleasant place, O desert, for this night,
The army of my sighs will encamp outside my heart

ISLĀM KHĀN RŪMĪ ²

(Vol I, pp 241-247)

Husain Pāshā was the son of 'Alī Pāshā Pāshā in that country (Turkey) means an Amīr He was governor of Baṣra and was nominally subject to the Sultān of Turkey Muḥammad, his uncle, was offended with him and went to Constantinople with the request that his brother's son should be dispossessed and that he (Muḥammad) should be appointed in his place When he did not succeed there in his object, he went to Abshar, the Pāshā of Aleppo, who had the power of appointing and removing the governors of some of the cities of Turkey, and represented the misbehaviour and evil ways of his nephew He also asked for an estate from the produce of which he could provide for his necessities Abshar wrote to Husain Pāshā to restore to him an estate out of the dependencies of Baṣra When he came to Baṣra, Husain Pāshā acted according to Abshar's letter and kept Muḥammad in comfort in his company When Muḥammad in concert with his brother exceeded his authority and began to behave in an unseemly manner, Husain Pāshā imprisoned both of them and transported them to India They cleverly contrived to get out of the ship on the shores of Laḥsā ³ (Al-Hasā) and came to Baghdād to Murtadā Pāshā Muḥammad craftily represented to him that Husain Pāshā was in league with the Persians and that he possessed abundant riches and said, that if Murtadā would come with troops and expel Husain and give the governorship of Baṣra to him (Muḥammad), all these riches would revert to him

Murtadā reported these suggestions to the Qaisar (the Sultān of Turkey) and obtained permission to go to Baṣra and depose Husain Pāshā When the plan came into operation and he came near Baṣra, Husain Pāshā sent Yahyā (John) with an army to fight When Yahyā perceived that Murtadā had a large force and that he was unable to resist him, he yielded and joined Murtadā When Husain Pāshā heard this,

¹ In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* the amount is 6 lacs worth of goods and Rs 30,000 in cash. Was it not Mīr Ibrāhīm the son of Mīr Nu'mān who was sent with the money and who died in Arabia? Cf *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p 627

² Fryer mentions that he saw him encamped near Sūrat He calls him the Bassa of Mesopotamia

³ El-Aḥṣā or El Hasā in E Arabia is the name of a district

he was disconcerted and conveyed his family and goods to Bhabhā¹, which is a dependency of Shīrāz and turned for assistance to the Persians. Murtadī came to Baṣra but in spite of all his search could not find the treasure that Muḥammad had mentioned. On this account he put Muḥammad and his brother and a number of others to death. Some time afterwards the Arabs of the peninsula (Mesopotamia) on being oppressed by the misbehaviour of Murtadī rose up against him and defeated him. Murtadī fled to Baghdād and many of his men were killed. This news was sent to Husam Pāshā and he was invited to return to Baṣra. He left his family and property at Bhabhā, and came to Baṣra, and began once more to rule there. He did so for ten or twelve years and always maintained a friendly intercourse with the great princes of India and sent them letters and presents. For instance, in the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr he sent² a letter full of congratulations on his accession, together with some 'Irāqī horses.

In short when the ruler of Turkey, on account of the troubles and opposition offered by Husam, ordered that Yahyā should be appointed in his place, Husam was unable to remain there any longer. Nor could he go to the Sultan of Turkey. Being helpless he set off with his family and a few servants to Persia. When he arrived there he did not meet with any favour, nor could he gather the flower of kindness. By the guidance of fortune he determined to migrate to India, and set off. His arrival was approved of by the Emperor (Aurangzib) and a robe of honour, a palanquin and a female elephant were made over to a mace-bearer to be conveyed to Husam in order that the exile might be comforted and made hopeful of favours. When he reached Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) in the 12th year on 15th Safr, 1080 A.H. (15th July, 1669 A.D.), the *Bakhshī-ul-Mul* Asad Khān and the *Sadr-us Sudūr* 'Ābid Khān received him at the Lihōre gate of the city wall. Dānushmand Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* came forward (to meet him), and Husam Pāshā was introduced according to ceremonial and permitted to kiss the throne. By the touch of the royal hand on his back, his head was exalted beyond the sky³. He presented a ruby worth Rs 20,000 and ten horses. He received a lac of rupees and other presents and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000⁴ horse and the title of Islām Khān. The house of Rustam Khān Deccanī—which was a lofty mansion on the bank of the Jumnā—together with carpets, etc., and a boat so that he might come by the river to the Court, were given to him. His eldest son Afrāsīyāb received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Khān and his other son 'Alī Bēg obtained the title of Khān and the rank of 1,500. After that he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and a *tankhwa* (salary) in money for ten months and a remission of the charge of the keep of the animals⁵. Later on he

¹ Apparently it is the Babahān of the maps and on the road from Shīrāz to Baghdād.

² Khūfī Khān, II, p. 124.

³ The description of Husam Pāshā's arrival is taken from the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 85 *et seq.* The phrase about the head being exalted above the sky occurs on p. 86. The Dānushmand Khān of the text was Bernier's patron. He, as *Bakhshī ul-Mulk* conducted the Pāshā as far as the entrance to the *Qhuskhāna*.

⁴ Khūfī Khān, II, p. 234, has 4,000, but *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* 5,000.

⁵ See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moguls*, pp. 17, 20. Few officers received the full twelve months' pay. The animals were, it seems, the Emperor's and

was made *Sūbadār* of Mālwa. As courage and ability were conspicuous in him, he became a favourite, and soon was recognized as one of the great officers of India. Aurangzīb wished that he would send for his family and settle in the country. As he, for certain reasons, delayed in sending for his wife and for his third son Mukhtār Bēg, and made evasions, he was removed from his office and excluded from the Presence, he took up his abode in Ujjain. In the¹ end of the 15th year, at the petition of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Khān Jahān Bahādur, Nāzim of the Deccan, he was restored to his rank and office and appointed to command the vanguard of the army (of the said Khān). He was frequently engaged against the armies of 'Adil Shāh and the grandson of Bahlūl of Bijāpūr. In the 19th year, 11th Rabi' II, 1087 A H (23rd June, 1676 A D) at the moment of engaging the enemy (*dar 'ain tarāzū būdan-ī-jang*), and while distributing (the troops) fire fell into the gunpowder, and Islām Khān's elephant got out of control² and went straight into the enemy's ranks. The foe surrounded him and cut the ropes of his howdah, and when he fell to the ground they put him and his son 'Alī Bēg to the sword.

Verse

Death headed his path, and he fell before it,
The game was of itself drawn to the net of destruction

He had great ability, zeal, courage and right mindedness, and did great deeds. He also had a taste for poetry. This quatrain is his

Verses

For a while we³ trod the path of want,
We practised beggary at the sublime gate
As a present we brought pieces of our liver,
That we might create acquaintance with our friend's dog

After his death, Afrāsiyāb Khān was made an officer of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and Mukhtār Bēg⁴, who had come with his father's belongings in the 18th year to Ujjain and had been given by proxy (*ghāibāna*) a mansab of 700 with 100 horse, received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. The properties of the deceased Khān, which amounted to three lacs of rupees and twenty thousand *ashrafis* and which had been confiscated in Ujjain and Shōlāpūr, were restored to his sons, and an order was given that they should meet the claims against their father. Afterwards Afrāsiyāb Khān was made *faujdar* of Dhāmūnī, and in the 24th year was made *faujdar* of Murādābād on the death of Faiz Ullāh Khān, and so gained his

not the officers' own. Islām got 10 months' pay and his sons 8 months'. Also see *Maāthir-ī-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 88

¹ *Maāthir-ī-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 121, 122. Islām Khān had now sent for his family

² *Maāthir-ī-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 151, and Khāfi Khān, II, p. 236, who puts the battle into the 16th year, 1080, but in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzīb*, III p. 394, it is stated to have been in the 19th year

³ *Maāthir-ī-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 87. We in the verses means he and his sons, while the sons are later described as pieces of our liver

⁴ *Maāthir-ī-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 143

desire (*murād*), and in the same year Mukhtār Bēg was styled Nawāzish¹ Khān and in the 30th year made *faujdār* and governor of the fort of Mandsūr (in Mālwa, now in Gwālor). In the 37th year, he was appointed to the charge of the *Chakla* of Murādābād. After that he was made *faujdār* of Mūndū, and later he was appointed governor of Ilchpūr. In the 48th year he became *Sūbadār* of Kashmīr.

ISMĀ'IL² BEG DĠLDI

(Vol I, pp 64, 65)

He was one of Bābur's officers, and was distinguished for his courage and counsels. When Humāyūn returned from Persia and besieged Qandahār the position of the besieged became difficult, and Mīrzā 'Askarī's officers deserted and presented themselves before Humāyūn. Ismā'il Bēg was one of them, and after Qandahār was taken he was made the governor of Zamīn Dāwar³. During the siege of Kābul he and Khidr Khwāja Khān were sent against Shēr 'Alī, who had been sent by Kāmran to plunder a foreign caravan which had reached Chārikar⁴. Shēr 'Alī could not return to Kābul, as the road was blocked by the imperialists, and so he hastened off towards Ghaznī. A battle took place in the pass of Sajāwand between him and the imperialists, the latter were victorious and returned to Humāyūn with much booty, and were rewarded. When Qarācha Khān, who at first had done good service and had received boundless favours, revolted and seduced a large body of men and carried them off to Mīrzā Kāmran in Badakhshān, Ismā'il Bēg was also led away and so he received from Humāyūn the nickname of *Khīr*. Afterwards Humāyūn went in person to Badakhshān and on the day of the battle with Kāmran Ismā'il Khān was made a prisoner. Humāyūn spared him at the intercession of Mun'im Khān and made him over to him. He accompanied Humāyūn on the expedition to India, and after the taking of Delhī was sent with Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī to Lāhore. Nothing more is known about him.⁵

ISMĀ'IL KHĀN BAHĀDUR PANI

(Vol I, pp 370, 371)

Sultān Khān, his father, was a *jama'dār* and his (the father's) daughter was married to Sarmast Khān, the son of 'Azmat⁶ Khān who in the battle

¹ *Maāthir* : 'Alamcārī, p 195

² In the first edition, viz that by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Adham Khān Kōka is the first name. In the 2nd, viz that now translated Ismā'il Bēg's is the first name.

³ Zamīn Dawar or more correctly Zamīn-i Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān see Raverty, *Tabalāt-i Nāsiri*, II, Index p 273

⁴ Chārikarūn in the text, but as pointed out in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in-i* I (2nd edn) p 423, note 1, "Charikar (lat 35° long 69°) which lies north of Kabul" is the correct reading.

⁵ He appears in Abūl Fadl's list as a commander of 2,000 (Blochmann, *loc. cit*). His nickname is considered by Blochmann to be *Khars* a bear, i.e. a rude fellow. But it may be the Arabic *Khars* a wine jar, *Albarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p 523, note 1.

⁶ He was 'Iwād Khān's chief *jama'dār*. The battle in which Dilāwar Khān was killed, was fought on 23rd May, 1720, see Elliot, VII, p 496 and Khāfi Khān, II, p 879.

with Sayyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān dismounted in front of the elephant of 'Adud-ud-Daula 'Iwad Khān and sacrificed his life. Afterwards Sarmast Khān and Sultān Khān obtained *jāgīrs*. Ismā'il Khān with 1,000 horse was the hereditary servant of Šalābat Jang, and Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh. As his fortune was in the ascendant, he gradually became *Nā'ib* of the *Nizāmat*, and (had the) management of the estates in Berār. As he had an old acquaintance with Janōji Bhōnslē, who was then *Ta'luqdār* of that province on the part of the Mahrattas, he managed the collections on the principle of slant¹ the cup, but don't spill. For a long time he managed affairs there. At last his brain became damaged through the use of intoxicants and he showed marks of presumption. This displeased Nizām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh and he determined on his punishment, and in the year that he went towards Nāgpur to punish the sons of Raghūji Bhōnslē, though Ismā'il presented himself with a small body of troops at his camp, thinking that the killing of Rukn-ud-Daula² the manager of the establishment of that chief (Āṣaf Jāh) had proved an eye-salve, he was not received with favour and heard words of anger. He wished to return home. Meanwhile a force, which had been appointed against him, made its appearance. He was helpless, but with thirty or forty troopers, who stuck to him, he attacked and drove off the matchlockmen and entered the hostile cavalry. As he advanced he wielded his sword. When he had received many wounds, he came to the centre of the army and fell from his horse, and gave up his life in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.D.). His sons Šalābat Khān and Bahlūl Khān became objects of compassion and received in *jāgīr* the estates of Bālāpūr³, Badanpara-i-Bībī and Karanj village in Berār. They are still serving, and are comfortable.

ISMĀ'IL KHĀN MAKHĀ⁴

(Vol I, pp 291, 292)

He formerly served with *Sihbandī*⁵ corps in the Carnātic district of Haidarābād. In the 35th year of Aurangzib's reign he received, on the recommendation of Dhūlfaqār Khān Bahādūr, a commission of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of Khān, and was appointed, in company with Dhūlfaqār Khān to storm the fort of Gingee⁶. In the 37th year, as during the siege, the relations between Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh

¹ That is, the conditions were impossible.

² This is not the Rukn ud Daula who was also called Lashkar Khān and who at one time replaced the author of the *Maāthir ul Umarā*. He died in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.).

³ Bālāpūr is mentioned in Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 234, as in the *Sarkār of Narnūlah*. Karanja, Badhona and Karanja in *Sarkār Gāwīl* are also mentioned on p. 232.

⁴ It is *Maḥḥa* (of Mecca?) in the text and in the *Maāthir i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 357, etc., but Khāfi Khān, II, p. 416 and elsewhere has *yalla* or solitary champion, which term is applied to men of distinguished bravery who combat singly. Probably this was the correct title.

⁵ Local Militia, see Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 166.

⁶ In the text *Khinjī*, but this is a mistake for Gingee. It is the famous Gingee in South Arcot which Bussy took in 1750. See Khāfi Khān, II, p. 418, *Maāthir i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 357, and Elliot, VII, p. 348. Jinji in Kincaid and Parasani—*History of the Maratha People*, pp. 23, 100, etc.

(youngest son of Aurangzib), and Asad Khān and Dhūlfaqār Khān became strained, Dhūlfaqār Khān judged it expedient to withdraw from the siege and recalled the troops and the guns from the batteries. Ismā'il Khān had his battery on the other side of the fort, and could not get away quickly. Santā Ghōrpare¹ and others who were waiting for their opportunity came and joined battle with him. As he had but few men he was wounded and made prisoner by the Mahrattas and imprisoned for a year. By the efforts of Acham Nār—with whom he had acquaintance—he was released after paying a heavy ransom. In the 38th year, he appeared at the Court, and was honoured by an increase of 1,000 *Dhāt* and the appointment of looking after the roads from Anandī² to Murtaḍābād. In the 41st year³, he was made *faujdār* of Islāmgarh, or Rāhīrī in place of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Khān Lārī. In the 45th year, he was made *faujdār* of Banishāh Durg⁴. The conclusion of his history does not appear.

ISMĀ'IL QULI KHĀN DHŪ-AL-QADR

(Vol I, pp 105-107)

He was the younger brother of Husam Qulī Khān Khān Jahān, and one of the high officers of Akbar's reign. In the battle of Jālandhar when Bairām Khān was defeated and made to retreat, the imperialists pursued Ismā'il Qulī Khān and captured him. After his brother was received into favour, he too was well treated by the Emperor, and performed great deeds in company with his brother. When his brother died as *Sūbadār* of Bengal, Ismā'il Qulī Khān came to the Court with his (brother's) goods and chattels, and was favourably received. In the 30th⁵ year, he was sent to chastise the Balūchīs, who had become rebellious and did not submit to authority. When he came to Balūchistān, the people were first contumacious, but soon sued for peace. Their chiefs, Ghāzī Khān Wajih and Ibrāhīm Khān Daulat, accepted service, and their country was restored to them by the Emperor. In the 31st⁶ year, when Rāja Bhagwant Dās was recalled owing to insanity from the government of Zābulistān (Afghānistān), Ismā'il Qulī Khān was appointed in his place, but he exhibited improper traits and fell out of favour. An order was given that he should be put into a boat and sent to Mecca.

¹ Khōrpura in the text. See Khāfī Khān, II, pp 415, 416, *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p 357, and Elliot, VII, p 346. It is the Ghorepuray of Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921), I, p 70, who states that according to the family legend the Ghorepurays were originally Bhonslay and got their present name owing to an ancestor's having been the first to scale a fort, deemed impregnable, by fastening a cord round the body of a *ghorepur* or iguana (the lizard known in Bengal as *goh samp*). Santā, or Santājee Ghorepuray was afterwards murdered by another Mahratta, Grant-Duff, *op cit*, p 295. He is the Santāji Ghorpare of the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 291, etc., and Santaji Ghorpade of Kincaid and Parasani.

² *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p 369, has Amdī. Murtaḍābād is another name for Mirch, Elliot, VII, p 364.

³ *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p 387.

⁴ *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri* p 440, has Nabī, but Khāfī Khān, II, p 495, has Banī. See Elliot, VII, p 371. It is another name for Panhāla.

⁵ *Ālbarnāma*, Text III, p 475, Beveridge's translation, III, pp 716, 717.

⁶ *Ālbarnāma*, Text III, pp 491, 492, Beveridge's translation, III, pp 742-745. For the various spellings of the name of Rāja Bhagwant Das, see Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p 353.

by the way of Bhakkar. He had recourse to entreaties, and though his requests were granted, he was removed from where he was and appointed to chastise the Yūsufza'is. Suddenly various kinds of diseases resulting from the obnoxious atmosphere broke out in the hill-country of Sawād (Swāt) and Bājaur. The chiefs of their own accord came before Ismā'il Qulī Khān and submitted. When Zam Khān, the governor of Zābulstān had pressed hard upon Jalāla Raushanī and made him leave Tīrah for the hill-country of the Yūsufza'is, Zam Khān, to wipe out the disgrace which he had incurred in the affair of Bīr Bar, entered the hill-country. Sādiq Khān also was sent from the Court so that he might take post in Sawād, and that Jalāla might be caught whichever way he turned. Ismā'il Qulī Khān, who was *thānadār* of that country, took umbrage at Sādiq Khān's coming, and leaving the passes open went off to the Court. Suddenly Jalāla got his opportunity and came out. For this reason Ismā'il Qulī Khān was for some time under censure, but, in the 33rd year, was appointed to the government of Gujarāt. When in the 36th year Prince Sultān Murād was appointed to the government of Mālwa, Ismā'il Qulī Khān was made his *Vakil*, but he did not act properly as Murād's guardian. In the 38th year, Sādiq Khān was appointed in his place, and Ismā'il Qulī Khān was recalled to the Court. In the 39th year, he was allowed to go to Kalpi, which was his fief, so that he might develop the property. In the 42nd year, 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.), he was raised to the rank of 4,000. They say, he was much given to pleasure and displayed great luxury in food and clothing, and in carpets and other furniture. He had 1,200 women, and when he went to the Court he used to have seals put on the strings of their drawers. At last they all got annoyed and joined together and poisoned¹ him. His sons, Ibrāhīm Qulī, Salīm Qulī, and Khalīl Qulī obtained suitable appointments in the time of Akbar.

I'TIBĀR KHĀN KHWĀJASARĀ

(Vol I, pp 134, 135)

He was one of the confidants of Jahāngīr, and from very early years was his attendant. When Khusrāu was arrested after his flight and brought to the Court, and the King moved from Lāhōre to Kābul, Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, to whose charge Khusrāu had been committed², remained in Lāhōre on account of illness, and Khusrāu was put under the charge of I'tibār Khān. He had at first a suitable rank, and in the 2nd year the district (*hawlī*) of Gwāhyār was assigned³ to him as his *tanḥwāh* (salary). In the 5th year, he got a *mansab* of 4,000 with

¹ See his life in Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp 388, 389

² According to the Index to Khāfi Khān, II, p 983, I'tibār Khān was one of the conspirators who proposed to release Khusrāu and kill Jahāngīr, but this is a mistake. The Hindū who joined in the conspiracy was not I'tibār Khān but his manager Shāhibmadār, see Khāfi Khān, I, p 258, and also the account of the conspiracy in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp 28, 29, where it is stated that it was a Hindū belonging to I'tibār Khān, and who looked after his servants. The Hindū was executed.

³ Though Gwāhyār was assigned to him for his maintenance (Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūz-ul-Jahāngīrī*, I, p 113) he was not sent there at least not immediately, for we find him afterwards in Afghānistān and in charge of Khusrāu. Perhaps Khusrāu was later to be removed to Gwāhyār and so I'tibār Khān got his *jāgīr* there.

1,000 horse, and in the 8th year, one of 5,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 10th year, his rank was increased by 1,000 horse and in the 17th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. When he was very old, he received charge of the province of the Capital (Āgra) and of the fort and the treasury. In the 18th year, when Prince Shāh Jahān marched from Māndū with the intention of waiting upon his father, and the flames of discord shot up between them, the Prince came to Fathpūr and halted there. When the royal troops arrived, he retreated. After that when the royal cortege came near Āgra, I'tibār Khān, as he had rendered good service in protecting the city, received the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, and the gift of a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and an elephant. At the appointed time he departed to the other world.

I'TIBĀR KHĀN NĀZIR ¹

(Vol I, p 65)

His name was Khwāja 'Ambar. He was a eunuch, and a confidential servant of Bābur. In the year when Humāyūn went off to 'Irāq from near Qandahār ², I'tibār Khān and others were appointed to look after Maryam Makānī ³. He did good service on this occasion. In 952 A.H (1545 A.D.) he waited on Humāyūn at Kābul and was appointed to serve Akbar. After the death of Humāyūn, Akbar sent him to Kābul to bring his mother, and in the 2nd year of the reign he returned in her train. After some time he was made the governor of Delhī and died there.

I'TIMĀD KHĀN GUJARĀTĪ

(Vol I, pp 93-100)

He was one of the Hindū ⁴ slaves of Sultān Maḥmūd the ruler of Gujarāt. As the Sultān had full confidence in him he appointed him in his harem and assigned to him the adorning of the women. I'timād Khān as a precaution ate camphor and so made himself impotent. As he possessed ability, steadiness of conduct, and the appearance of integrity, he rose to a high rank. When in 961 A.H (1553-54 A.D.) the Sultān after reigning for eighteen years was killed by the treachery of a servant named Burhān, the latter put to death twelve of the principal officers by pretending that the Sultān had summoned them, but I'timād Khān had the foresight not to attend. He gathered together helpers, fought and killed Burhān. As the Sultān had no son, I'timād Khān, to extinguish

¹ Also known as Khwāja 'Ambar Nāzir—see *Albarnāma*, Text I, p 224, and Beveridge's translation I, p 451.

Nāzir was a revision officer and assistant to the *Dīwān*, see Ibn Hasan—*Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, p 239.

² Apparently meaning that Humāyūn started for Persia after he had been forced to leave India in 1543 A.D.

³ Hamīda Bānū, mother of Akbar—see Beveridge's translation of *Albarnāma* I, p 33, note, for her title of *Maryam Makānī*.

⁴ *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* calls him 'Abdul Karīm (Bombay lith edn, p 293).

the flames of sedition, raised to the throne a boy named Radī-ul-Mulk¹ of the family of Sultān Aḥmad the founder of Aḥmadābād, and gave him the name of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I'timād Khān, however, kept all the power in his own hands and left him nothing but the title of King

After five years the Sultān came from Aḥmadābād and joined Saīyid Mubārak Bokhārī, who was one of the great officers. After a battle in which he was defeated by I'timād Khān he had to take flight. When he again joined I'timād Khān, the latter acted as before. The Sultān from want of sense plotted with his associates to kill I'timād Khān, but he anticipated the Sultān and killed him. In the year 969² A H, he brought forward a child called Nanhū³, who did not belong to the royal family, and swore upon the Qur'ān before the officers, "This is the begotten son of Sultān Maḥmūd. His mother was pregnant and the Sultān made her over to me to produce abortion, but, as she was then five months gone with child, I did not do so." The officers were helpless and accepted the statement and raised the boy to the throne under the name of Sultān Muzaffar. I'timād Khān became the Prime Minister as before. But the territories were divided among the officers, and all of them were confirmed in their offices. They fell out with one another and were either victorious or vanquished.

When I'timād Khān kept the Sultān under surveillance and in his power, Chengīz Khān, the son of I'timād-ul-Mulk, a Turkish slave, asserted himself and opposed I'timād Khān, urging that if Sultān Muzaffar were really the son of Sultān Maḥmūd, why was he not allowed a free hand. At last with the assistance of the rebel Mīrzās, who had fled from Akbar, he led an army against I'timād Khān. The latter offered no resistance, but left the Sultān and fled to Dūngarpūr. After some time Alf Khān and Juhār Khān, who were Abyssinian Amīrs, brought the Sultān and made him over to I'timād Khān. They then separately went off and joined Chengīz Khān in Aḥmadābād. Without any cause becoming suspicious of him they killed him. I'timād Khān learnt of this and taking the Sultān returned with him to Aḥmadābād. When the officers quarrelled with one another, the rebellious Mīrzās came from Mālwa and took possession of Broach and Sūrāt. The Sultān too, who was looking for an opportunity, came out of Aḥmadābād one day and joined Shēr Khān Fūlādī who had a strong following. I'timād Khān wrote to Shēr Khān that Nanhū was not the son of Sultān Maḥmūd, and that he was sending for the Mīrzās and going to make them the sovereign. The officers, who were in league with Shēr Khān said, that I'timād Khān had in their presence sworn upon the Qur'ān (that Muzaffar was the son), and what he was now saying was the result of enmity. Shēr Khān then led an army against Aḥmadābād. I'timād Khān sheltered himself there and solicited the help of the Mīrzās. There was a great disturbance. When this had lasted a long time, I'timād Khān saw that things were not improving and that the amelioration of the distracted country was beyond

¹ This account is incorrect. Radī ul Mulk was the name of the man who fetched the boy, see Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p 454, and Do and Prashad's translation of *Tabaqāt-i Albarī*, III, p 394, note 4.

² At the end of the year in *Tabaqāt-i Albarī*, and therefore corresponding to 1562 A D.

³ Variant Nathū. See *Tabaqāt-i Albarī*, loc cit, p 397.

his power. He had recourse to Akbar and petitioned him to conquer the country. In the 17th year, 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.), when the King came to Pattan, a stone of disunion fell among Shēr Khān's party, and the Mirzās also went to Broach. Sultān Muzaṣṣar who had become separated from Shēr Khān, was wandering about in the neighbourhood in a distracted state and was captured by the King's men. I'ṭimād Khān and the other officers set their hearts upon being loyal and adorned the coins and the pulpits with the name of Akbar, and came and waited upon him and entered service. When on 14th Rajab of this year¹, the city of Ahmadābād was made illustrious by Akbar's arrival, Barōda, Chimpinir and Sūrat were granted as fiefs to I'ṭimād Khān and the other officers and they undertook to extirpate the Mirzās. When the King went to visit the seaside, the Gujarāt officers, who had waited in the city on the pretext of making arrangements—when the time for making excuses had expired—perceived that it would be impossible for them to tyrannise as formerly and thought of absconding. Ikhṭiyār-ul-Mulk Gujarātī was the first to do so, and the loyalists who had not absconded brought I'ṭimād Khān and others to Akbar. He lost favour and for a time was made over to the charge of Shihbāz Khān. In the 20th year, he was again received into favour and had charge of the Court in order that the minutiae—especially in the matters of jewellery and adorned utensils—might be looked after by him. In the 22nd year, when men were going to Mecca under the leadership of Abū Turāb Gujarātī, I'ṭimād Khān, who had long been desirous of visiting the holy places, also obtained leave. On his return, Pattan Gujarāt was granted to him as his fief. In the 28th year, he on the departure of Shihbūd-Dīn Ahmad Khān, was appointed as the governor of Gujarāt, and a number of distinguished officers were sent with him. Some courtiers represented that when I'ṭimād Khān was in full vigour and had numerous friends he had not been able to manage the turbulent elements in Gujarāt, and that now when he was declining and had no supporters, it could not be right to send him there; their remonstrances were, however, without effect.

When I'ṭimād Khān came to Ahmadābād, Shihbūd-Dīn Ahmad prepared to go to the Court. His unrighteous servants, who formerly from mercenary motives had lain in wait to kill their master, but by an ill-timed temporising the affair had been smoothed over, separated from him. Their idea was that he had lost his *jāgīr*, and that until he reached the Capital they would not get interim expenses and that before the question of branding had been settled it would be difficult to get even a mouthful of bread. So it would be far better to adopt as their leader Sultān Muzaṣṣar, who was living under the protection of the Lōbbhātī, and to make a disturbance. Experienced persons represented to I'ṭimād Khān that Shihbūd-Dīn had abandoned the attempt to consiliate (his servants) and was going off to the Court, and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that under these circumstances, it appears proper to restrain him from departure. They also represented that the *jāgīrs* should be given back to him for a time, or that some money should be expended and so end the uproar, or as the rebels had not yet matured their plans, they might be suppressed by quickness and

¹ November 20, 1572 A.D., see Beveridge's translation of *Al barnāma*, III, p. 11

skill But I'timād Khān accepted none of these proposals and said¹. It is his servants who are at the bottom of the disturbance, he will have to settle it, or be responsible for the consequences. When Sultān Muzaffar joined the rebels and the fire of sedition burst forth, I'timād Khān was compelled to hasten to Shihāb-ud-Dīn—who had gone off to Kari² twenty *kos* from Ahmadābād—to induce him to turn back. Though well-wishers said that he was making an easy task difficult by leaving Ahmadābād when the enemy was within twelve *kos* of it, their words were of no avail.

When Sultān Muzaffar learnt that the city was undefended, he came post haste and took possession of it. He collected a force and prepared for battle. Before the engagement took place, most of Shihāb-ud-Dīn's men turned unfaithful and there was a great confusion. I'timād Khān and Shihāb-ud-Dīn hastened to Pattan and took shelter there, and wished to leave the country. Suddenly some auxiliaries arrived as also some men who had separated from the enemy. I'timād Khān learnt a lesson from what had happened, and distributing money among the officers and men made them attend zealously to their duties. He and Shihāb-ud-Dīn remained on guard and men were sent under the command of his (I'timād Khān's) son Shēr Khān to fight against Shēr Khān Fūlādī. They were successful. At this time Mirzā Khān 'Abd ur-Rahīm—who had been appointed with a proper force to chastise Sultān Muzaffar and the Gujarātī rebels—arrived. He left I'timād Khān in Pattan and went forward with Shihāb-ud-Dīn. I'timād Khān was for a time governor of the area till he died in 995 A H (1587 A D). He held the rank of 2,500, though the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*³ makes him of the rank of 4,000.

Shaikh Abūl Fadl says that the Gujarātīs are a pest composed of cowardice, deceit and dishonesty, but have certain qualities such as order, simplicity and humility, and that I'timād Khān may be regarded as the prime example of this class.

I'TIMĀD KHĀN KHWĀJASARĀ

(Vol I, pp 88-90)

His name was Phūl Malīk. In the reign of Salīm Shāh he, on account of his honesty, received the title of Muḥammad Khān. When the Afghāns fell from power, he was enrolled⁴ among the servants of Akbar, and did good service. In consequence of the public clerks, from fraudulent or negligent motives working to increase their own fortunes and neglecting to collect and develop the imperial revenues, Akbar began personally to look into matters of finance in the 7th year after the catastrophic murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atka, and

¹ This account is taken from the *Albarnāma*, Text III, pp 410, 411, Beveridge's translation III, pp 608-611.

² Gadhi in the text.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* (De's edition), Text II, p 436, Translation II, p 663.

⁴ This is apparently based on the detailed account by Abūl Fadl in *Albarnāma*, Text II, pp 178, 179, Beveridge's translation II, pp 276, 277.

Muḥammad Khān¹ by his ability in this matter acquired the Emperor's confidence and improved the collections. He, therefore, received the title of I'timād Khān, and the rank of 1,000, and had the entire work of the exchequer entrusted to him. In a short time he carried out the Emperor's ideas, and brought the affairs of the treasury into proper order. In the 9th year, after the arrival of the royal cortege at Māndū, Mirān Mūbārak Shāh, the ruler of Khāndēs (Khāndēsh), sent ambassadors with presents, and solicited that his daughter may be admitted into the royal seraglio. His request was granted, and I'timād Khān was entrusted with the arrangements. When he approached the fort of Āsīr, Mirān Mūbārak Shāh brought him into the fort with all honour, and sent off his daughter with a number of nobles. I'timād Khān did homage at the first stage out from Māndū during Akbar's return journey to Āgra. After that he was, for a time, appointed to Bengāl along with Khān-Khānan Mun'im Khān and Khān Jahān Turkmān, and did excellent service. In the 22nd year, 984 A.H., he went off from Dipālpūr in Mālwa to take charge of Bhakkar on the death of Sayyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adal. He, by his energy, led a force to Sēhwān and was victorious. He returned after having concluded a peace.

Success makes most men lose the thread of reason, especially in the case of those who are congenitally bad, and experienced sages have observed that castration softens the character of all living creatures except men, and in the case of the latter increases their fierceness. So I'timād Khān's arrogance increased, and he had no regard for the weak and made no attempt whatever to conciliate them. He behaved badly to the inhabitants and to his servants, and used to treat them with harshness. He regarded craft as sagacity and did not act justly towards them. In the 23rd year, 986 A.H., when Akbar was proceeding to the Panjāb, I'timād Khān wished that his soldiers should present themselves at the Court for the branding of their horses. In his blindness he thought of calling in the loans which he had advanced to the men. Though they pleaded poverty, he paid no heed, and did not act with justice. One morning Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant, who was blind in one eye, joined with some miscreants, and killed this careless wretch. Some say, that when Maqṣūd 'Alī explained his circumstances, I'timād became angry and said that he deserved to have urine poured into his blind eye, and that the man immediately drew his dagger, and stabbed him so hard in the belly that he did not breathe again. I'timād Khān founded I'timādpūr at a distance of six kos from Āgra. He also made a large tank there and erected buildings including his own tomb. He was buried there.²

I'TIQĀD KHĀN FARRUKH-SHĀHI

(Vol I, pp 339-346)

His real name was Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he became *Vakil* of Jahāndār Shāh, and had the rank of

¹ Phūl Malik was given the name Muḥammad Khān in the days of Salīm Shāh Sūr son of Shēr Shāh, vide *Albarnāma*, Text II, p 178, Beveridge's translation II, p 277.

² See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p 13, note, and p 473 for his life.

1,000 and the title of Vakālat Khān. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh he was promoted, and when the turn of Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar arrived, he was included in the list of those to be killed. But his old relationship with the Saiyids saved him, and he obtained the rank of 1,500 and the title of Muḥammad Murād Khān, and was entered among the *yasāwals* of the *Tūzul* (State messengers). When Muḥammad Amīn Khān the 2nd Bakhshī was appointed to Mālwa—so that he might perhaps prove an impediment to Amīr-ul-Umarā's leaving the Deccan—he delayed in marching. Muḥammad Murād was appointed as *Sazāwal*¹ but with all his outspokenness and long tongue he could achieve nothing. He came to the council-chamber (*Sar-i-Dīvān*) and said, "He has no obedience in his brain and so *sazāwal*ship has no effect on him." The Emperor made no reply. Again he said without any circumlocution, "If this time you pass it over, nothing will remain." The Emperor said, "What is to be done?" He said, "Let an order be given to your slave to go and say 'March immediately, otherwise you must give up your office of Bakhshī'." Farrukh-siyar said, "Go and tell him so." He went and spoke so vehemently that he marched that very day. His boldness and loyalty pleased the Emperor, and he made him a Privy Counsellor. His favour also increased owing to his being a countryman of *Sāhiba-i-Niswān* (the mistress of women), the Emperor's mother. The Emperor was worried and vexed on account of his disagreements with the Saiyids of Bārāh and their predominance, he was every day making new plans and holding new consultations about extirpating them, but from stupidity and want of courage these came to nothing. One day Vakālat Khān got his opportunity and threw such a glamour over things, and built such castles² in the air, saying "unless it comes to a fight with the opposition, the net-work of their power will spread on every side in a short time" that Farrukh siyar—the light of whose intelligence and discretion had become extinct—did not see the real issue and was deceived by him, and in a short time raised him to the rank of 7,000 with 10,000 horse and in every undertaking made him his confidant and intimate friend and gave him the lofty title of Rukn ud-Daula I'tiqād Khān Bahādur Farrukh-Shāhī. There was not a day that he did not present him precious jewels and other valuable things. He made *Sarkār* Murādābād a province, and gave it the name of Ruknābād and made it his fief. At his advice he, for the purpose of destroying the Saiyids, summoned Sarbuland Khān from Patna, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang from Murādābād and Mahārāja Ajit singh from Jōdhpūr, and every day held consultations with them. If anyone said that if the robe of the *Vazārat* is given to someone, Qutb-ul-Mulk's power would diminish, and his position greatly weakened, the Emperor would say "There is no better man for this post than I'tiqād Khān." The officers (who were already grieved at the advancement of a man of no family, who was notorious for foolish talk and immoralities) could not stand his being made the *Vazīr* and retired. And, in fact, what a mad idea it was! (They thought) troubles and dangers, and loss of life must be undertaken by us, while the *Vazārat* and dominion are to be the portion of another.

¹ Bailiff or Agent, see Sir Jadumath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 42

² Literally arrayed such verdant gardens

Verse

I'm the lover and the beloved is at the beck of others
As 1st Shawwāl¹ is the 'Id of Ramadān

Stranger still, while all these great deeds were in contemplation, the Emperor deprived many of the officers of their fiefs and appointments, and made them discontented, while Qutb-ul-Mulk regarded them as his spoils and soothed and conciliated each one of them, and drew them into his own party. The Emperor's schemes and consultations were without profit.

Verse 2

How can a secret be kept when it is discussed in assemblies

When the details reached Qutb-ul Mulk he, to protect his honour, began by keeping a watchful eye (over the Emperor) and wrote to Husain 'Alī Khān, the Amīr-ul Umarā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return quickly from the Deccan. When the Emperor became aware of the Amīr-ul-Umarā's intentions, he again attempted conciliation and sent I'ṭiqād Khān and Khān Daurān to the house of Qutb-ul-Mulk and renewed his promises and oaths. Both sides agreed to amend the past. A month had not passed when the Emperor, in his childishness and folly, forgot all these arrangements for peace, and state of things became more troubled than before. Several experienced officers withdrew thinking that thus they would save their honour. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā arrived from the Deccan, he, after confirmation of agreements and conditions, did homage, but, on seeing the King's disposition and the prevailing confusion, he abandoned the idea of amending matters and began to think. On 8th Rabi' II (27th February, 1719³), on the pretext of a second visit he sent Qutb-ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh to the fort to bring about a settlement. None of the King's men was in the fort except I'ṭiqād Khān. Qutb-ul-Mulk began to complain to the Emperor and mentioned his unkindnesses. Maḥammad Farrukh-siyar also got angry and made rejoinders. At last they came to high words. I'ṭiqād Khān sought by deceptive words to play the part of a mediator. When both had lost their self-control Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān used an opprobrious epithet to him and ordered that he should be turned out of the fort. The Emperor retired to the female apartments and I'ṭiqād Khān thought it advisable to save his life and went to his home. Qutb-ul-Mulk spent the night in the fort in watchfulness, and on the morning of the 9th Rabi' II he imprisoned the Emperor. Till then no one knew what had taken place in the fort. The general report was that 'Abdullāh Khān had been killed. I'ṭiqād Khān protested his devotion and having collected his men and mounting his horse he made a vain attack (Lḥar

¹ Shawwāl follows the month of Ramadān, and the feast of the 'Id is on 1st Shawwāl though called the 'Id-i-Ramadān.

² This is the adaptation of the second half of a verse from Hāfiz, the first half being همه کارم ر خود کامی نه بدنامی کشید آخر

³ But see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's The Later Mughals*, I, pp 376-381, from where it will be seen that the possession of the fort was taken by Qutb ul-Mulk and Ajit Singh on 4 Rabi' II, and on 8 Rabi' Qutb-ul Mulk entered the palace, replaced the guards, and later the interview took place

hamla¹) on the Amīr-ul-Umarā's troops in the Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān bāzār, and was making a useless disturbance when music announced the accession of Rafī'-ud-Darajāt. He was arrested with great indignity and his house confiscated. The precious jewels which had been presented to him, and many of which he had disposed of, were resumed and he was exposed to contempt and misery. Farrukh-siyar was deposed after a reign of six years and four months, not counting the eleven months of Jahāndār Shāh's rule which were included in his reign. He was confined on the top of the Tīrpōliya'² in the fort in a dark and narrow room. He was blinded and guarded with great severity. They say, that his eyesight was not entirely destroyed.

A trustworthy person who was nearly associated with the Saiyids has been heard to state, that when it was decided that Farrukh-siyar should be blinded, Qutb-ul-Mulk without mentioning the circumstance to anyone (else) gave his own antimony-box (*surmadān*) in open *Dīrān* to Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, saying it was the King's (Rafī'-ud-Darajāt's) order, and that he went and blinded Farrukh-siyar. Farrukh-siyar offered much resistance and so they were obliged to throw him down. Afterwards when he perceived that his sight had not been injured, he endeavoured to conceal the fact, and whenever he wanted anything he would say "Have pity on this³ sightless one." Qutb-ul-Mulk and the Amīr-ul-Umarā would smile and say "He thinks we don't know." Anyhow he, in his simplicity, tried to induce his guards by promises to take him away to Rāja Jai Singh Siwā'i. When the brothers heard of this, they, for political reasons, twice tried to poison him. Owing to his tenacity of life this had no effect. At last they conducted him to annihilation by thong-pulling (*tasma-kashī*⁴), which was his own first invention. On the day that they were conveying his bier to tomb of Humāyūn Bādshāh there was a general riot. Two to three thousand men and women of the city, especially the rabble and faqīrs of the market, assembled and accompanied the bier. They flung stones at the Saiyids' men and abused them. For three days they assembled at his tomb and recited funeral prayers⁵.

Good God! Men in this affair have become Haidaris⁶ and Nī'mat Allāhis. One said

Verses

You saw what they did to the mighty King
They committed a hundred violences on him,
When I sought the date from Wisdom, she answered
*Sādāt*⁷ *ba'wai nimak-karāmī* *Iardand* (the Saiyids behaved
disloyally to him)

¹ *Khar hamla* means a foolish attack

² Literally three arches

³ In the text *basīr*, vision but the true reading must be *bē basīr*, without vision

⁴ Also spelt *tasmā*. See Elliot, VII, pp. 114, 115, for an account of the murder committed at Farrukh-siyar's accession, also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 275-281, and the account of Farrukh-siyar's reign in the same work, pp. 241-407

⁵ Cf. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 520

⁶ These are the two rival sects which have an annual fight in Persia during Muharram see Malcolm's *History of Persia* (ed. 1815), II, p. 593

⁷ The words yield 1131

Another said

Verses

They did what was right with the sick King,
 They did all the physician should do,
 One wise as Hippocrates wrote the prescription of the date,¹
*Sādāt*² *dawāsh ānkeh bāyad kardand* (the Saiyids gave him
 the right treatment)

But it is quite evident that in considering the claims of kings, ancient and modern, which are fixed and definite with respect to the hereditary servants of their houses, and more particularly the claims in regard to these two brothers in the service to their master, it is not absolutely correct that the occurrence of this shameful business was due to them, and that each of them behaved with thorough baseness and ingratitude. The real case is quite otherwise. Rather they too performed the duties of service. They failed not in exposing their lives and properties, and made Farrukh-siyar the Emperor of Hindūstān. True, in the eyes of justice this did not create a claim, and was rather the performance of a duty, and what should be expected from loyalty. But what does the spirit of self-interest say? And what does farsighted practical reason command? Is it wrong to checkmate wickedness before it is successful? Self-interest is innate in man! If they had not anticipated matters, they would have lost their lives and their honour! In the beginning they might have obtained deliverance from these calamities, by withdrawing at the commencement from Court service, and contenting themselves with their high posts in the provinces. The love of glory and of power, which are the worst of faults, did not let them do this. And at this time would other claimants have left them in peace? Anyhow, if we look at the real state of things, Muhammad Farrukh-siyar was himself the cause of the rebellion against his sovereignty. From inexperience and folly he made mistakes. In the first place he should not have conferred on the Saiyids the great office of *Vazīr* to which the Saiyids of Bārah had no claim. For from the time of Akbar up to that of Aurangzīb—which represents the beginning and end of the regulations for the sovereignty of India—though the Saiyids of Bārah were promoted to high offices, yet they did not even receive the low ranks of *Divāns* of provinces or of managers for the King's sons. If from regard to their claim and from appreciation of their merits it was proper that the reins of the Caliphate should be put into their hands, he should not have listened to the words of self-interested intriguers—who under the veil of loyalty do the work of thousands of ill-wishers—about this type of faithful servants who spared neither their lives nor their property for him, and from whom no danger was to be apprehended in the future unless cause for this was given to them. What happened was the result of his own doing, and whatever resulted was due to himself! My pen has gone galloping. Where has it gone? May God efface it!

¹ Or the dated prescription.

² The words yield 1131. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, p. 395, where it is stated that the first quatram was by Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bēdil, and the rejoinder by Mir 'Azmat Ullāh Bilgrāmī Bēkhabar.

After his property and his reputation had been given to the winds I'ṭiqād Khān for a long time remained shut up in his house. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā was killed by the sword of vengeance, Qutb-ul-Mulk proceeded to Delhi and conciliated many of the old and new officers who had left the world and were living in retirement. Among them he pleased I'ṭiqād Khān by confirming him in his *manṣab*, and giving him a sum of money for his expenses and the charge of a *risāla* (cavalry). But the scheme, as he designed it, did not succeed. He only accompanied him a few *kos* and then returned to Delhi, and lived in retirement until he died a natural death. Though he was notorious for his feeble intellect and meanness yet he had abundant knowledge, and in a short time made his fortune. Yet all men speak ill of him.

Observation

Success does not wipe out faults

Verse

Success in the world's riches does not lessen one's sins,
For gold does not remove blackness from the touchstone

Rather it makes them conspicuous

Verse

How can a defect be hid under a garb of gold
When the new moon puts on her robe, its spots become visible¹

I'ṬIQĀD KHĀN MIRZĀ SHĀPŪR

(Vol I, pp 180-182)

He was the son of I'timād-ud-Daula and brother of Āṣaf Khān. For pleasantness, brightness, polished manners, taste in dress and food, etc., he was one of the foremost leaders of the age. They say, that during that period Yamin-ud-Daula, Mirzā Abū Sa'id and Bāqir Khān Najm Thānī were famous as epicures, but I'ṭiqād Khān in this respect was superior to all three of them. In the 17th year² of Jahāngīr's reign, he was made governor of Kashmir and ruled there for a long time. During this period *kumūd*³ (lotus) rice and *pūn langīrī* used to be sent to him from Burhān

¹ 'Uryūn lit. naked. Apparently the meaning is that when the new moon waxes, the spots on the surface become more marked. For a detailed account of I'ṭiqād Khān, or as he is styled Muhammad Murād, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp 319-315, 381, 401, 406.

² *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation II, p. 216.

³ The text has *مکود* *mukūd* which seems unintelligible though there is an Arabic word *malūd* which means abounding in milk. The word appears to have been *کمود* *kumūd*, which means lotus, and also white water lily in Sanskrit and Bengali. See also Khāfi Khān, I, p. 662. In Jarrett's translation of *Asiatic Researches*, II, p. 223, it is stated that in Dandea, i.e. Khāndāsh, of which Burhānpūr was the capital 'the rice is of fine quality, and both the varieties are in abundance.' See also *Asiatic Researches*, reprint of 1757, p. 119, where it is stated that "Khandea rice called *malūd* Hindustan patty chawal which is the only species brought from that province and generally used by the higher classes. It is a long and small grain and rice."

pūr During his government Habīb Chak and Ahmad Chak, who were the leaders of that quarrelsome people, laid claims to the chiefship, and stirred up great dissensions, and at last went off ruined to Tibet. I'ṭiqād Khān, who held the rank of 5 000 *dhāt* and horse, was removed from Kashmīr in the 5th year of Shāh Jahān, and in the beginning of the 6th year came to the Court. He brought with him and presented the rarities of Kashmīr, such as plumes made of the feathers of the wild goose which surpass¹ the musky hairs of the Yak, and varieties of shawls such as *jāmauwār*, *īamarbands*, embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear-covers) and especially woolen garments from the Tūs² and fur (*lark*) from a wild animal, whose flesh is edible and which is found in Qarū (?) Tibet, also carpets which sell a hundred rupees a yard and compared to which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack-cloth (*palās*). In the same year, he was on 17th Shā'bhān appointed to the governorship of the province of Delhī in succession to Lashkar Khān. In the 16th year, he was made *Sūbadār* of Bihār in succession to Shāyista Khān. As the *Zamīndār* of Palā'ūn³ (Palāman) relying on the extensive forests in that province became rebellious, I'ṭiqād Khān sent, in the 17th year, Zabardast Khān with an army against him. He traversed passes and jungles and put the rebels to the sword. Pratāp, a *Zamīndār* of the area submitted and by the instrumentality of the aforesaid Khān presented a lac of rupees as *pēshlash* and waited upon I'ṭiqād Khān in Patna every year. At I'ṭiqād Khān's request Pratāp obtained the rank of 1,000 *dhāt* and horse, and Palāman was given to him as his fief at a rental of one kror of *dāms*. In the 20th year, when Prince Muḥammad Shūjā' was recalled from Bengāl, the government of that province, which for population, extent and abundance of produce is equal to a chme (*iqīm*), was entrusted to I'ṭiqād Khān. When Bengāl was again made over to Shāh Shujā', I'ṭiqād Khān returned to the Court. He had not arrived when the government of Oudh was made over to him, and an order was issued that he should go off on this duty from whatever place he had reached. In the 23rd year, 1060 A H (1650 A D) he left Bharaich and came to the Court, and died. They say, that the first persons to build new houses in Āgra were three in number, viz. Khwāja Jahān Jahāngīrī, Khwāja Waisī the *Ditān* of Sultān Parwīz, and I'ṭiqād Khān, the best and most artistic of the three was I'ṭiqād Khān's mansion. As it was admired by Shāh Jahān, he presented it to him as *pēshlash*, and in the 16th year Shāh Jahān presented it to 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā.

¹ The literal translation of the passage seems to be: Plumes made of the feathers of the goose which are such that musky tresses would shrivel up from envy on beholding them as hairs do when exposed to the fire, and various shawls such as *jāmauwār* (gowns), *īamarbands* (waistbands), embroidered *gōshpēch* (ear covers) and especially woolen garments from the Tūs and fur from a wild animal whose flesh is edible and is found in Qarū Tibet, and woven carpets which fetch a hundred rupees a yard and compared with which the carpets of Kirmān are like sack cloth (*palās*). It looks as if the author thought that *lark* the Turkish name for fur was the name of an animal. Possibly he read it as *gurg*, a wolf.

² So in text, but in the *A'in*, I (Blochmann's translation, 2nd edn), p. 97, the animal is called Tūs. Kark is a Turkish word for fur. Qarā or Tibet means apparently Black Tibet. Perhaps it should be Qar, i.e. white or snowy Tibet, but it is clear from Bernier that "Tus" came from Great Tibet.

³ Palāman in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 248 and 356. Palāman is in Lōhardāga, Chōta Nāgpur.

'IWAD KHĀN QĀQSHĀL¹

(Vol II, pp 776-777)

His name was 'Iwad Bēg, and he was one of the officers of the *Siba* of Kābul. When in the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign the *thāna* of Duhāk² was recovered from the hands of Ūzbegs, he was granted the rank of 1,000, 600 horse, and appointed as the *thānadār* of that area. In the 6th³ year he was given an increase of 200 horse, and in the 7th year⁴, he was exalted by a rise to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 1,000 with 500 horse. In the 10th⁵ year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse, and in the 11th⁶ year of 300 horse. And in the incident, which occurred in connection with 'Alī Mardān Khān⁷ handing over the fort of Qandahār to the royal servants, he ('Iwad Khān), who was already waiting in Ghaznī, at the instance of Sa'id Khān⁸, the governor of Kābul, went to that place with one thousand cavalry and took possession of the fort. And in the battle which Sa'id Khān had to fight with Siyāwash and the Qazalbāsh army, he formed the vanguard, and his honour was raised to the skies by the bestowal of a *khul'at* and a jewelled dagger, and promotion to the rank, substantive and with increments, of 2,500 with 2,000 horse and the grant of drums and a horse and an elephant⁹. And having hurried with Rāja Jagat Singh to conquer the fort of Zamīn Dāwar, he rendered valuable services in the capture of the fort of Sārban and the siege of Zamīn Dāwar¹⁰. And for a time he was in charge of Qalāt. In the 16th year¹¹ he was appointed governor of Ghaznī in place of Khānazād Khān. Since through prolonged illness, frailty and weakness went on increasing, he was dismissed¹². In the 4th year corresponding to 1050 A H he died.

'IZZAT KHĀN KHWĀJA BĀBĀ.

(Vol. II, pp 775, 776)

It appears that he was related to 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang. In Jahāngīr's reign he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse. After the coronation of Shāh Jahān he came from Lāhore with Yamīn-ud Daula and paid his respects and was confirmed in his rank. In the 3rd year, he attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur who was sent in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 4th year, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse and he

¹ For Qāqshāl, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 309, note 1

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 1, p 261. The fortress of Duhāk is situated in Bāmuyān at the extreme end of a defile on one of the two routes from Kābul to Bāmuyān, see Raverty's translation of *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, II, p 1025

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 1, p 451

⁴ *Id.*, p 242

⁵ *Id.*, p 32

⁶ *Id.*, p 48

⁷ *Id.*, pp 54-59. Zamīn Dāwar is a district in the territory of Ghūr in Khurāsān, see Raverty, *op cit*, I, p 324, note. For a detailed account of Shāh Jahān's campaigns in Trans Oxiana, see Banarsi Prashad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 188-209

⁸ *Id.*, p 173

⁹ *Id.*, p 200, his successor was Pūrdī Khān

¹⁰ *Id.*, pt 2, p 17

¹¹ *Id.*, II, p 5

¹² *Id.*, p 33

was granted the title of 'Izzat Khān, and he was presented with a flag and an elephant and made *faujdār* of Bhakkar. In the 6th year, 1042 A H (1632-33 A D) he died there.

J

JĀDŪ RĀO KĀNTIH ¹

(Vol I, pp 520-523)

He belonged to the Jādūwān (or Jādūn) tribe to which Kishn (Krishna) belonged. He was one of the nobles of Nizām Shāh. When in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, addressed himself for the second time to the task of chastising the rulers of the Deccan, who had withdrawn their heads from obedience and had stretched out their arms to seize the imperial lands, Jādū Rāo, who was the leader of the armies of the Deccan paid homage to the Prince and was made a *Panjhazārī* ², both personal (*Mhāt*) and in the number of horse. Together with his sons and grandsons and other relatives he held offices of 24,000 with 15,000 horse. He held the choicest *jāgīrs* in the Deccan, and rendered great assistance to the governors of the country, and always furthered the imperial cause, himself living in great comfort and affluence.

When in the 3rd year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, Burhānpūr became by the shadow of the world-conquering standards an abode of peace and security, Jādū Rāo the wicked, out of ingratitude and thanklessness turned away from the path of submission to the threshold of the Caliphate, and with his sons and sons-in-law joined Nizām Shāh. As the latter knew that faithlessness was innate in this *baddhāt*, and that treacherous doings were part of his nature, he designed to get hold of him and to imprison him for a time. For this purpose he summoned him to his presence, and as the time of retribution for his disloyalty had arrived, he, in his ignorance, hastened to come with all his tribe. Suddenly a troop came out of ambush and proceeded to bind them. They did not yield, but drew their swords, and the two parties fought with one another. Jādū Rāo and his two sons Uchlā ³ and Rūghū, and his grandson and successor ⁴ (*jānashīn*) Īswant ⁵ (Baswant ?) Rū were killed. The remainder, along with Karjāyī ⁶ his (Jādū's) wife, who was the manager of his affairs, fled from Daulatābād to their own country Sindkhēr ⁷, which is a pargana of Mahkar Berūr near Jālnapūr—where Jādū Rāo had built a fort—and took protection there. Though Nizām Shāh tried to conciliate them, they did not give heed and turned, with a

¹ Kāuth in *Bādshāhnāma*. Probably Kāuth or Kāyath is the reading. See Wilson's glossary, under Jādon and Kāyastha.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 182.

³ Variant Ujlā.

⁴ Perhaps *jānashīn* is rhetorical, meaning only the continuers of the family.

⁵ Baswant in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 309.

⁶ Apparently Girja, the mountain born, a name of Pārvatī.

⁷ The Singhar of Elphinstone and Sindghar of Elliot, VII, p 11, Singharh in *Cambridge History of India*, p 267, note 1, and Singhad in Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p 25, the Singharh of *Imperial Gazetteer XXIII*, p 12.

thousand expressions of penitence, to the imperial Court. Inasmuch as the forgiveness of offences is a trait of mighty princes, the great offences of the tribe were pardoned and they were received into service. A gracious order was issued to A'zam Khān, the governor of the Deccan, who was in the Bālāghāt intent upon uprooting Khān Jahān Lōdī. He through the instrumentality of Danatjī¹, who had been Jādū Rāo's manager, received them honourably, and decided upon suitable appointments for every one of them. Offices and gifts were issued to them from the Court to the value of Rs 1,30,000 for their expenses, and they received good *tankhwāhs* (assignments) in the Deccan, Berār, Khāndēsh, and the estates of Jādū Rāo were restored to them. When they paid their respects at the Court, in the 4th year, Bahādur, the son of Jādū Rāo², received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and a flag and drums. Jagdēo the brother of Jādū Rāo received the rank of 4,000 personalty and cavalry and a flag and drums, and Patang (?) Rāo was exalted by receiving the rank of 3,000 personalty and 1,500 cavalry which had formerly been held by his brother Īswant (or Baswant) Rāo who had been slain, and the grant of the title of Jādū Rāi, which had been his grandfather's. Bētūjī was granted the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which had been the rank of his father Uchlā. In the 5th year Jagdēo Rāo died, and, when in the 8th year, Bahādurjī died, Datājī, his son, got the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. When he was killed³ in Aurangzib's reign in a battle with the Mahrattas, when accompanying Dilēr Khān, his son was honoured by the title of Jagdēo Rāi and a high rank (*manṣab*). Afterwards, Mān Singh, one of his sons, took care, with a small force, of the defence of Aurangābād in the time of the government of Manṣūr Khān Rōzbahānī. He built a house upon the side of a tank (?) Another brother, Rāghū went to Jagdēo Rāi. Shāhūjī⁴ Bhōnslē, the father of the notorious Sivā (Shivājī) obtained a name in the Nizām Shāhī territories by becoming the son-in-law of Jādū Rāi, and since then there has been a connection⁵ between the families. The sister⁶ of the present Rāja Shāhūjī was married to Jagdēo Rāo. He in the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) was present at the battle⁷ between Nizām ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh and Mubāriz Khān the governor of Haidarābād which took place at his fief of Shakarkhēra⁸. He left

¹ Dihētī in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 310

² Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 310, but the figures, etc., are slightly different. There Patang is Tilang and Betū is Bēthū.

³ *Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 1009, 1010. Dilēr Khān was not killed.

⁴ There is an account of Shivājī's descent in Scott's *History of the Deccan*, II. He was descended by his mother's side from the Rājputs of Udaipur, though it was through the son of a concubine. See also Kincaid and Parasnis, *op cit*, pp. 5-14, the names of the father and son are given there as Shāhajī and Shivājī Bhōnslē.

⁵ Text in *alsala-rā-pā-darmayān* evidently means that Jādū Rāo's family was connected with Shivājī's from the time of his father's marriage. The phrase *pā-darmayān bāshad* also occurs in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 777.

⁶ There is the variant *khwāharzāda*—sister's daughter.

⁷ The battle was fought on 23rd Muḥarram, 1137 A.H. (11th October, 1724), *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 843. It is there stated that Shakarkhēra is sixty *los* from Aurangābād. See also *Siyar-i-Muta'akhkhirin*, I, p. 247, and Elliot, VII, p. 526.

⁸ Shakarkhelda in Berūr, 20° 13' N., 76° 27' E., later named Fathkhōlda, for details of the battle see Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), II, pp. 144-150.

ʿAsif Jāh and joined Muḥārīz Khān, and was killed in the melce. From that day no one of the family has held an office or an estate. His son Mīn Singh, who is the sister's son of Rāja Singh, subsists, with his paternal uncle's sons in Sindkhīr (or Sindkhēra) on the *zamindari* fees (*rasūm*) of Sarkār Daulatābād which was from old times associated with his ancestors and on account of his attachment to his native country he does not leave it. At the present time, on account of straitened circumstances he has become helpless and gone away. This Sindkhēra is a pargana yielding thirty *lors* and belongs to Aurangābād and is in the Sarkār of Mahkar and the province of Berār. It was the real native country and the ancient residence of Jūdū Rāo. Six or seven *kos* from the town (*qasba*) there is a village of the pargana which is known as Dēvalgāon Rāja. Jūdū Rāo built a strong fort there and set himself to bring the place into cultivation. At this time also it has a large population while the town near it is lying waste.

(MŪʾTAMAN-UL-MULK) JAʿFAR KHĀN

(Vol. III pp. 751-755)

Originally he was a Brahman boy. Hājī Shafīʾ of Isfahān bought him and called him Muḥammad Hādī, and brought him up like his own son. He accompanied Hājī Shafīʾ to Persia, but on the death of the latter he returned to the Deccan and became an inferior servant of Hājī ʿAbdullāh of Khurāsān, who was the *Dīwān* of Berār. Afterwards he became a royal servant and in the reign of Aurangzib he obtained a suitable rank and the title of Kūrtalab Khān (the labour-loving Khān), and was employed in the Deccan. For a time he was the *Dīwān* of Haidarābād. Afterwards¹ he became *Dīwān* of Bengāl in succession to Diyā Ullāh Khān, and received the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. When Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar proceeded towards Āgra to contend with his uncle Jahāndār Shāh he sent Haidar Bēg with a force to Bengāl to collect the revenue. Murshid Qulī opposed him and defeated him. When Farrukh-siyar became Emperor, he appointed Rashīd Khān² the brother of Afrāsīyāb Khān Mīrzāb Ajmērī as the governor of Bengāl. A battle ensued and Rashīd Khān was killed. Murshid Qulī was enabled by Jagat Sūth Sāhū³ who was one of the wealthy men of the province, to expend lavishly and so he obtained the governorship, the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and the title of Mūʾtaman-ul-Mulk ʿAlā-ud-Daula Jaʿfar Khān Bahādur Asad Jang⁴. After ruling there

¹ In 1113 A.H. 1701 A.D., see Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 352. In *Riyāḍ us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 252, Translation, p. 254, it is stated that he was previously the *Dīwān* of Orissa, this appears to be correct for in *Maʾāthir* i ʿĀlamqārī, p. 483, it is also stated that Murshid Qulī was *Hāris* or Governor of Orissa.

² See *Riyāḍ us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 268, Translation, p. 269. Rashīd Khān is stated to have been the elder brother of Afrāsīyāb Khān. Apparently he invaded Bengāl before Farrukh-siyar defeated Jahāndār Shāh. For Afrāsīyāb Khān, see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1898, p. 154 note 1, he was famous for his personal strength.

³ سید in the text is a *lapsus calami* for سید

⁴ The text has the word *nāmawārī* after the titles. But it seems that this is a mistake for *Nāʾirī*, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 157. *Nāmawārī* or fame would be without any meaning.

for many years he died in 1138¹ A.H. (1725-1926 A.D.) He founded Murshidābād. They say, he was a most accomplished Collector ('*Amāldār*) He made a pit full of nastiness and gave it the name of *Baikunth*. In it he imprisoned the landholders. *Baikunth* is the Indian name for paradise where, according to their belief, the righteous dead find a place.

He was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, who was also called Mīrzā Deccanī. He was a Burhānpūr man and his father was Nūr-ud-Dīn, who belonged to the Afshār family, and one of his ancestors was 'Alī Yār Sultān who in Shāh Tahmāsp's time was the governor of Farāh near Khurāsān. Shujā'-ud-Dīn was for a time in charge of Īkandal, which is a dependency of the province of Farḡhandabunyād (Haidarābād). In the time of Ja'far Khān's governorship he was the governor of Orīssa, and later proceeded rapidly to Murshidābād. From Muḥammad Shāh he received a high rank and the title of Mū'taman-ud Daula Shujā'-ud-Daula Bahādur Asad Khān. He abolished *Baikunth* and released the landholders. He ruled for thirteen years and died in 1152 A.H.² The date of his death is *Rauraq az Bangāla raft*: glory has departed from Bengāl (1152).

After him his son 'Alā'-ud-Daula Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Haidar Jang, who was called Mīrzā Asad-ud-Dīn, succeeded him. After ten months he was killed in 1153 A.H. by 'Alivardī Khān, who had been promoted by his father. Murshid Qulī Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang was the brother-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān. His name was Lutf Ullāh. His father Hājī Shukr Ullāh of Tabrīz came to India and settled in Sūrāt. Lutf Ullāh was born there. When he reached the years of discretion, he studied the sciences and went to Bengāl as a trader. Shujā'-ud-Daula perceived his merit and gave him his daughter in marriage. His first title was Lutf 'Alī Khān and after Ja'far Khān's death he was given the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. At that time he was the governor of Orīssa. When 'Alivardī Khān after the murder of Sarfarāz Khān went to that province, he collected a force and opposed him. He was defeated and went to the Deccan. In 1154 A.H. he returned³ with a force to Orīssa, and made Sa'id Muḥammad Khān son of Hājī Muḥammad the nephew of 'Alivardī Khān, who was the Nā'ib of Orīssa, a prisoner. 'Alivardī Khān proceeded post haste to Orīssa and defeated him. Then he returned to the Deccan. The Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh Bahādur was kind to him, gave him a fief and made him his companion. He died in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) He wrote poetry and his pen-name was Maḥmūr. The following verse is by him.

¹ *Rivād-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 287, gives 1139 as the date and has the chronogram "zī dārallihlāfaṭ jidār ūfād." The translator of the *Rivād* (p. 285) has al end *jidār* into *jawār*. But the instruction in the text is to deduct *jidār* from *dārallihlāfaṭ* to get the date of death, and this yields 1139 and agrees with the statement that 1139 was the date of death. *Jawār* would give 1137. The translation of the chronogram would be: the wall of the Capital has fallen or the wall has fallen from the abode of the Caliphate.

² He really died on 13 Dhūl Hijja 1151 A.H. or 24 March, 1739 A.D. See *Rivād-us-Salāṭīn* Text, p. 307. If zī is read in place of zī the chronogram becomes correct.

³ He did not return. It was his son-in-law Mīrzā Bāqir who did. See *Sūrāt op cit.*, p. 451.

Verse

Do not fancy that weaklings are unable to perform hard tasks,
Because even a mountain can be painted by a brush¹ (painting
brush)

His wife known as Mihmān Bēgam lived a long time. She died in Haidarābād in a house which her husband had bought. Her son Yahyā Khān was for a time governor of Khānpūra in Farkhundabunyād (Haidarābād). He left it a few years before this biography was written.

JA'FAR KHĀN TAKLŪ

(Vol I, pp 507-509)

He was the son of Qazāq Khān whose father Muḥammad Khān Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ūghlī was governor of Herāt and guardian of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā eldest son of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavī at the time of Humāyūn's visit to Persia. The Shāh's *farmān*—which is a code of regulations for the polite and generous—was addressed to him in reference to the hospitality to be shown to Humāyūn. Sharaf-ud-Dīn behaved as was proper, and earned encomiums by performing fitting service in receiving so valued a guest. After his death Qazāq Khān became the guardian of the Mīrzā, and the governor of Khurāsān, and growing presumptuous did not behave with proper respect to the Shāh. In 972 A H, the Shāh sent an army against him under the command of Ma'sūm Bēg Safavī—who was the *Vakil* of the kingdom. It chanced that at this time Qazāq Khān was attacked by dropsy, and his following dispersed. He was compelled to shut himself up with Sultān Muḥammad in the fort of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn. The Shāh's troops entered Herāt and Qazāq Khān was induced to surrender by agreements and promises. In that condition he died. His properties came into the possession of Ma'sūm Bēg. After this catastrophe, Ja'far Bēg—who for his straightforward nature and courage was held in respect by his father—took refuge with Akbar, and was favourably received. In 973 A H he was attached to Akbar's stirrups in the pursuit of Khān Zamān Shaibānī. After that, when 'Alī Qulī Khān's offences were condoned, on condition that so long as Akbar was in those parts he would not cross the Ganges, and Akbar went off to visit the fort of Chunār, Khān Zamān ignorantly and foolishly crossed the river. Akbar on receipt of this news made a rapid march against him, and Ja'far Bēg quickly came to Ghāzīpūr, and distinguished himself by taking hold of some boats which contained Khān Zamān's goods and chattels. He was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān².

¹ *Khāma-i-mū's* literally a pen of hair. The variant is *Khāna i-mūr* which would mean the nest of an ant.

² See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd Edn.), p. 471, and *Albarnāma*, Text II, p. 265, Beveridge's translation, p. 395. From the latter it appears that Khān Zamān's boats were not seized at Ghāzīpūr, but further on at Sarwār, and it does not seem that Ja'far Khān did anything special about them. Blochmann points out that Ja'far Khān afterwards served under Husan Tukriya in the siege of Nagarkōt. In *Tabaqāt-i-Albari*, De's edition, Text II, p. 451, and translation II, p. 679, it is stated that Qazāq Khān (wrongly Qarāq Khān in the translation) was put to death, but his son Ja'far Khān died a natural death.

JA'FAR KHĀN 'UMDAT-UL-MULK ¹

(Vol I, pp 531-535)

He was the son of Sādiq ² Khān *Mir Bakhs̄hī* and the sister's son and son-in-law (*khwēsh*) of Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān. His wife was Farzāna ³ Bēgam commonly known as Bibī Jīu. From his early years he was an object of royal favour, and was always distinguished for devotion and good service. When his father died, the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) sent Aurangzib to condole with him, and having put his mind at rest in reference to royal favours to bring him and his brothers to the Court. When he appeared, he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse, and was raised to the position of 4,000 with 2,000 horse. Inasmuch as real kindness does not ⁴ require an occasion or a pretext, and a benevolent heart seeks for a subterfuge, the Emperor in the 7th year glorified Ja'far Khān's house by visiting it, and he became distinguished above his compeers. In the 10th year, Ja'far presented jewels and rare stuffs. Out of graciousness to a servant, goods to the value of one lac of rupees were received and he was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse. After that he was, for some reason, a subject of censure for some days, but again became the recipient of boundless favours. In the 19th year, he was made governor of the Panjāb. In the end of the 20th year, he was raised to the office of *Mir Bakhs̄hī* in succession to Khalīl Ullāh Khān. In the 23rd year, on the death of Makramat Khān he was made governor of the province of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and, in the 24th year, he was appointed governor of the province of Thatha (Sindh) in succession to Sa'id Khān. In the 30th year, he came to the Court. When Mu'azzam Khān was removed from the high office of *Vazīr*, Ja'far Khān was exalted, in the 31st year, to the high office of the Chief Minister, and received the ornamented inkstand. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh when Aurangzib was encamped at Bāgh Nūr (near Āgra), Ja'far Khān, who had remained in Shāh Jahān's service, did homage along with the other royal servants. After the first enthronement ⁵, which took place at Bāgh A'zābād, Delhi, Aurangzib proceeded towards the Panjāb in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, who to the end made vain efforts there, and the usual ceremonies of accession were put off till the second anniversary. Ja'far Khān was given the governorship of Mālwa, and by receiving an increase of 1,000 horse, both *dū-aspā* and *sih-aspā* (two-horse and three-horse troopers), his *manṣab* was raised to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. When Fādīl Khān the chief *Dīwān* died in Kashmīr in the 6th year, an order was issued summoning Ja'far Khān. He on his way from Kashmīr paid his respects to the Emperor at Panīpat in 1074 A H and was made Grand *Vazīr*. As the house, which he had begun on the banks of the Jumnā, was now finished, the

¹ Styled Jumdat ul Mulk in *Maāthir i 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103

² *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 729-731. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 538

³ Farzāna Bēgam was the sister of Mumtāz Mahal, the wife of Shāh Jahān

⁴ It seems that the negative in *namī khwāhād* is wrong, and that the meaning is that kindness looks for an occasion for extending favours

⁵ The first coronation took place in the Shālāmūr Gardens at Delhi on 1st August, 1658, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 416

King repeatedly honoured him in the 8th and 9th years by visiting him, and Ja'far Khān tendered rich and rare presents. In the 13th year, 1081 A H (1670 A D) he died¹ in Shāhjahānābād after a long and severe illness. During this time, Aurangzib twice visited him, once to inquire after his health, and the second time to condole with him. The Princes Muḥammad A'zam and Muḥammad Akbar were ordered to proceed to the house of his sons Nāmdār Khān and Kāmgar Khān to express regret and sympathy, and also to comfort their mother Farzāna Bēgam. A special robe of honour was given to each of the sons, and to their mother was sent a *tōra*² suitable to her condition. Afterwards Prince Muḥammad Akbar brought both brothers out of their mourning and presented them at the Court. Each received an ornamented dagger with pearl appendages, as well as various favours. Mourning robes were also sent to the other relatives.

Ja'far Khān was distinguished among the later officers for goodness and rightmindedness, and was conspicuous for his excellent manners, etc. Every one praised his highmindedness. They say, that he was very fond of expensive white cloth. The *Qādī* of Dhār³ in the province of Mālwa—having heard of this—had fine cotton pieces specially prepared and embroidered carefully with flowers⁴, so that clothes (*thānhā*) worth fifty rupees were inferior to their linen finish (*qumaāh*). He then presented these as a rarity. He was called in to pay his respects, but Ja'far Khān frowned and said, "It is very coarse and had better be changed." The *Qādī* respectfully represented, "I ventured to tender these as⁵ hangings for the doorways into the courtyard." Ja'far Khān was much pleased and ordered that these should replace the curtains.

Stories are also told of the exquisiteness of his powers of smell and his palate. They say that one day they brought a melon to him which was full of sweetness and flavour⁶. He was pleased and said "I have never eaten a better melon than this one, but it has a fishy smell." On enquiry it was found that it was a melon from the Kōnkan, and that in that country they mix bits of fish with earth for manuring the melon-beds.

¹ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103. For an account of Ja'far Khān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 65-67. He was appointed *Vazīr A'zam* on 30th December, 1663, and died on 6th May, 1670.

² *Tōra* means regulation, and perhaps here means that suitable provision was made for her, vide *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 103. Perhaps the word is the Hindūstānī *tōra* a purse, but more probably the passage means that clothes suitable for a widow were sent.

³ Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, II, pp. 197, 206.

⁴ *Jāmawār*—a flowered sheet or shawl, vide Steingass.

⁵ *Bāb farsh chāndnī*—Chāndnī is a white cloth spread over a carpet, but Chāndnī also means a canopy and the use of the word *bāb* seems to imply that the cloth was intended as a hanging or purdah for a doorway. The words in Ja'far Khān's remark are *sarf tawān kard* which presumably mean that you can change the present, or take it back. But there is the variant *sarf natawān shud* which would mean I cannot use it, or, wear it, and imply that he thought the cloth was presented to him as wearing apparel or as a principal carpet. The *Qādī*'s reply was that he meant it merely as hangings over the doorways.

⁶ See the story in *Khāfī Khān*, II, p. 234. The word there and which is doubtless the correct one, is *sūgandag*—fragrance. The fishy smell was only detected at the time of eating. *Shikanandagī* in the text is not so appropriate, though it might refer to the softness of the melon.

JAGAN NĀTH.¹ ✓

(Vol I, pp 514-516)

He was the son of Rāja Bihārā Mal of whom a separate account ² has been given. The Rāja placed him with two of his nephews (brother's sons) as hostages with Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husam, who during the time of his government of Ajmēr had set a price ³ on the Rāja's head. Afterwards when the Rāja obtained an introduction to Akbar and received glorious favours, Jagan Nāth, in view of repeated commands from the Emperor, was released from the hands of the Mirzā. After that he was recipient of boundless favours, and sometimes in attendance on the royal stirrups, and sometimes in company with his brother's son Kunwar Mān Singh performed valuable services. In the 21st year, when Rānā Pratāp the *Zamīndār* of Mēwār confronted the royal army, some leading officers gave way, but Jagan Nāth stood firm and behaved bravely. Rām Dās the son of Jaimāl who was one of the noted foes, was killed by him. In the 23rd year he obtained a fief in the Panjāb and went off there. In the 25th year, when there were signs of Mirzā Hakīm's coming from Kābul to the Panjāb, and, an imperial expedition having been decided upon, a force was sent on in advance, Jagan Nāth also was appointed to this service. In the 29th year, he was appointed with a large force to chastise the Rānā who had become presumptuous, and his residence was plundered. After that he went to Kashmīr with Mirzā Yūsuf Khān. When the affairs in that area were arranged, he came to the Presence and paid his respects. After that, in the 34th year, he was sent with Prince Murād to Kabūl, and, in the 36th year, when Prince Murād was appointed to Mālwa, he accompanied him and achieved fame. After that, he accompanied the Prince to the Deccan. In the 43rd year ⁴, he obtained leave from the Prince and went to his home. From there he came to the Court, but as he had come without orders he was for some time not granted an audience. When the Emperor returned from the Deccan, and halted at Rantambhōr, Jagan Nāth in obedience to summons arrived there in advance. As the fort was a part of his fief, one day when the Emperor was visiting it, he, according to the rules of devoted servants, scattered money, etc., and in consequence was more highly honoured. Afterwards he again went to the Deccan. In the first year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to accompany Prince Sultān Parvīz in the affair of the Rānā. When the Prince in consequence of Khusrāu's rebellion took Bāgha ⁵, the Rānā's son, with

¹ In the text it is Jagnāth, but more correctly Jagan Nāth

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 111-113, Beveridge's translation, pp 409-411

³ *Albarnāma*, Text II, p 155, Beveridge's translation II, p 241 the name of the Rāja is given there as Bihārī Mal. Probably the meaning is not that Sharaf-ud-Dīn set a price upon the Rāja's head, but that he levied a contribution upon him and took his son and nephews as hostages for the payment

⁴ *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 743, Beveridge's translation III, p 1110

⁵ Bāgha or Bākha is mentioned in the *Bādshāhnāma* I, p 173, and in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī*, I, p 74. He was apparently a younger son of Amar Singh Rāja of Udaipur and a grandson of the famous Pratāp. The Rāja offered him to Prince Parvīz as a hostage, but the latter refused and said he must either have the Rāja himself or his son Karan. But when the news of Khusrāu's rebellion was received, Parvīz had to content himself with Bāgha

him and proceeded to Āgra, Jagan Nāth was left in the area with the whole of the army. In the same year he was appointed to put down Dalpat of Bikānīr who was creating a disturbance in Nāgōr. In the 4th year, he was made¹ a *Panjhazārī* with 3,000 horse, and his son Rām Chand² received the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and was sent to the Deccan. Rāja Manrūp, one of his sons, at the time of the confusion was attached to the stirrups of Shāh Jahān. After the accession of the latter he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and the gift of a flag and a horse with a silver (plated) saddle and an elephant, and Rs 25,00. In the 3rd year, he went with Rāja Gaj Singh to devastate the country of Nizām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and in the same year he died. His son Gopāl Singh³ received a suitable rank.

(KUNWAR) JAGAT SINGH

(Vol III, pp. 149, 150) —

He was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, and was distinguished in Akbar's reign for leadership, and did good service. In the 42nd year, he was sent as an auxiliary to Mirzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān, who had been directed to chastise Rāja Bāsū the land-holder of Ma'u and Pathān, but could not succeed on account of the discord among the officers. In the 44th year, 1008 A.H., the King's standards were unfurled in the direction of Mālwa for the conquest of the Deccan, and Prince Sultān Salīm was sent to extirpate Rānā Amar Singh. Rāja Mān Singh, who had become tired of settling Bengāl and had come to the Court, was appointed to accompany the Prince. And the guardianship of the extensive province of Bengāl was entrusted to Jagat Singh as his father's deputy. He was still near Āgra and engaged in making preparations for his journey when he died suddenly in the prime of youth through excessive⁴ drinking. The Kachwāha tribe was plunged into great grief, and Akbar out of his excessive kindness sent his young son Mahā Singh in his place. The sedition-mongers and some Afghāns—who had accepted service—took no notice of Mahā Singh on account of his youth and rose in rebellion. He, from inexperience, thought the affair an easy one and went forward to fight. In the township of Bhadrak (in Orissa) a hot engagement took place⁵ in the 45th year, and the imperialists were defeated. The rebels took possession of some places. Rāja Mān Singh left the Prince and went quickly to Bengāl, and did great deeds in retrieval of the disaster. Mahā Singh, like his

¹ He was made a *Panjhazārī* by Akbar (*Albarnāma*, Text III, p. 786, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1178). This was in the 46th year. In the *Ā'in*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn.), p. 421, he is included among the commanders of 2,500.

² Blochmann, *op cit*, p. 422

³ Blochmann, *ibid*, p. 423

⁴ Jagat Singh was addicted to drink, but Abūl Faḍl in recounting his death (*Albarnāma* Text III, p. 763 Beveridge's translation III, p. 1141) does not ascribe his death to drinking. He died on 26 Mīhr, 1008 A.H. (October, 1599 A.D.)

⁵ The battle took place on 18 Ardibihisht, 1008 (May, 1600 A.D.). Mahā Singh was living in the 10th year of Jahāngīr, and his death is recorded in *Tūzūl-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 377, and it is stated there that both father and son died at the age of 32 and of drink.

father, became addicted to wine in his youth and brought disgrace to the family, and played away his sweet life for bitter liquor

(RĀJA) JAGAT SINGH

(Vol II, pp 238-241) ✕

He was the son of Rāja Bāsū. When his elder brother Rāja Sūraj Mal¹, after his father's death, became an object of Jahāngir's favour, he was granted the ancestral property. As Jagat Singh did not get on with his brother, he received a small office and went to Bengāl. In the 13th year, when Sūraj Mal behaved badly, the King hastily summoned Jagat Singh from Bengāl and gave him the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the title of Rāja, and Rs 20,000 as also a jewelled dagger, a horse and an elephant, and sent him to Rāja Bikramājīt Sundar Dās, who was in active pursuit of Sūraj Mal. At the end of the reign of Jahāngir, Jagat Singh had the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in his rank, and, in the 7th year, when the King went to the Panjāb, he came and did homage. In the 8th year, after the return of the King from Kashmīr, he was appointed to the *thānādārī* of Lower Bangash and to the chastisement of the tribe of *Khang* who lived in that area. In the 10th year, he was removed and was made one of the Kābul auxiliaries. He did good service in arresting Karīm Dād son of Jalāla' Tārīkī (Raushanī). In the 11th year, when 'Alī Mardān Khān made over Qandahār to the imperial officers, and Sa'id Khān went off with the Kābul auxiliaries to put down the Persians who had come there, Jagat Singh was in the vanguard. He was sent to Zamīn Dāwar. He took the fort of Sārbān and proceeded to besiege Zamīn Dāwar. After taking it, he did good service in the siege of Bust. In the 12th year, when the Emperor was in residence at Lāhōre, he came and did homage, and received a robe of honour, and a pearl necklace. In the same year he was made *faujdar* of Upper and Lower Bangash. In the 14th year, when he asked for the *faujdarī* of the *Dāman-i-kōh* of Kāngra in succession to his son Rājrup and the collection of the tributes of the hill Rājas with an offer of 4 lacs, his request was granted, and he received a robe of honour and a horse with a silver saddle. When he showed signs of rebelliousness, he was removed, and summoned to the Presence. As he delayed in coming, the King sent three armies under the commands of Khān Jahān Bārāh, Sa'id Khān Zafīr Jang, and Aṣṣalat Khān, while Prince Murād Baksh with another army was deputed in their support with a view to taking Ma'u and Nūrgarh, and Tārāgarh, which were strong forts of the territory. At that time he had worked hard in strengthening them. Jagat Singh did his utmost in contending with the royal forces.

When Ma'u and Nūrpūr came into the hands of the imperialists, and Tārāgrah was nearly lost, he was obliged to apply to the Prince for pardon through Saiyid Khān Jahān. After his pardon came from the King, and he agreed to demolish Tārāgarh and Ma'u, he, in the 15th year, came to the Court with his sons with *jautas* (tunics) round their necks and did homage. The King forgave him and confirmed him in his former

¹ *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p 283

rank In the same year he went to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shukōh He was entrusted with the fort of Qalāt in the province of Qandahār In the 17th year, when Sa'ūd Khān Zafar Jang became the governor of the province and as there was not a good understanding between him and the Rāja, he was removed from Qalāt In the 18th year, he received a robe of honour and a sword with golden and enamelled armour and a horse with a silver saddle and was sent to assist the Amīr-ul-Umarā in the taking of Badakhshān He, out of his zeal, kept a larger contingent than his rank required, and was made happy by receiving their pay from government and entered Badakhshān by the route of Tūl When the men of Khōst submitted and came to see him, he, at their advice, built a strong fort of timber between Sarāb and Andarāb, and fought three times with the Ūzbegs and Almūnān, whom Nadīr Muḥammad, the ruler of Balkh had sent, and put them to flight Having put a strong *thāna* in the above-mentioned fort, he returned to Peshāwar In the 19th year, corresponding to 1055 A H (1645 A D) he died there¹ Shāh Jahān comforted his son Rājūr—of whom a separate account² has been given

JAGMĀL

(Vol I, pp 510, 511)

He was the younger brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal³ When the Rāja attained success through good fortune, every one of his relatives achieved relative degrees of success, Jagmāl became, in the 8th year, the guardian of the fort of Mīrtha In the 18th year, when Akbar made a rapid expedition to Gujarāt, Jagmāl was put in charge of the great camp, and obtained the rank of 1,000 His son Khangār⁴, who was living in Āgra with his uncle Rāja Bihārā Mal, was sent by the Rāja to Delhi at the time of the disturbance of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā In the 18th year, before the royal expedition to Gujarāt, he (i.e. Khangār) got leave and joined the royal camp in Pattan In the 21st year, he went with Kunwar Mān Singh to punish Rānā Pratāp, and afterwards was appointed to Bengāl, and in company with Shāhbāz Khān distinguished himself in the King's service When Shāhbāz Khān retreated without achieving success from Bhātī (Lower Eastern Bengal) and took the route to Tānda, Khangār⁵ on the march with some others fell in with a body of rebels who were returning from plundering, and a battle ensued between them On this occasion Naurūz Bēg Qāqshāl, one of the rebels, was killed, and the others fled

JAGRĀJ, also known as BIKRAMĀJIT

(Vol I, pp 526, 527)

He was the son of Rāja Jyāhār Singh Bundēla In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 481² *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 277-281³ Also written Bihārī Mal, see note 3, p 724⁴ So also *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 439, Beveridge's translation III, p 660⁵ See Beveridge, *op cit*, p 660, note 1, in reference to the construction and meaning of the sentence

of Patna and Bihār. When a royal order was passed that whichever of the fiefholders in the province should be disobedient to Jahāngīr Qulī, might be slain by the latter, the prestige and power of Jahāngīr Qulī became impressed on people's hearts. Rājā Sangrām¹, the landholder of Kharakpūr—who was one of the greatest landholders in that area and who from Akbar's time had always been on good terms and obedient to the imperial officers, so much so that Rājā Tōdar Mal made him his adopted son—could not brook Jahāngīr Qulī's sway and prepared for war. The latter marched against him with a suitable force and after a hard contest Sangrām was wounded by a bullet and killed, and the Khān triumphed. In the 2nd year, 1016 A H, on the death of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, who was slain at the hands of Shēr Afgan Istāylū (Nūr Jahān's first husband), Jahāngīr Qulī was raised to the high office of the governorship of Bengāl. After his arrival there, he made various administrative arrangements, but had² not made much progress when the army of death attacked him. He died in the 3rd year, 1017 A H (1608 A D). He was famous for his firm belief in the Faith and his worship of the truth, and strove hard to obtain spiritual rewards. He employed one hundred *Hāfiz* who, whether he was travelling or halting, finished several readings of the holy Qur'ān, and gave him the merit accruing therefrom. He too recited many prayers and passages of the Qur'ān. But with all this devotion and piety he was hard of heart. He possessed neither a soft heart nor pity. In the very time of his prayers and rosaries he did not refrain from making signals for the scourgings and hangings of guilty persons. He had a hundred trumpeters in his service who, whenever there was a fight³, sounded all their trumpets at once and thus drove the gall-bladders of rusties and villagers. He also had one hundred Kashmir pellet-bowmen, who were so expert that a bird could not fly over their heads without being struck by a pellet.

JAHĀNGĪR QULI KHĀN⁴

(Vol I, pp 524, 525)

He was Shams-ud-Dīn known as Mīrzā Shamsī and the eldest son of the Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh. During the time when Mīrzā Kōka was the governor of Gujarāt, he, on account of suspicions of long standing, embarked in the ship *Īlāhī* at the port of Balāwal⁵, which is near Sōmnāt (Sōmnāth) and went off to the Hijāz. He took with him his sons and household, with the exceptions of Shamsī and Shādmān Akbar, out of his unbounded graciousness, raised Shams-ud-Dīn to the rank of 1,000, and, as he was distinguished from his brothers by wisdom and prudence and other excellent qualities, he was always in favour

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 494 note 2, for an account of his life.

² *Pardākhṭa*, but apparently the variant *na pardākhṭa* is right. He had not arranged matters when he died. His rule in Bengāl only lasted for a year and some months, vide *Riyāḍ us Salāṭīn*, Text, p. 174, Translation, pp. 172, 173.

³ There are references to Jahāngīr Qulī in *Iqbāl-nāma* : *Jahāngīrī*, p. 33, and *Tūz-ul* : *Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 144, 153, etc.

⁴ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 499.

⁵ See Blochmann, *op cit*, p. 345, for further details, and *Albarnāma*, Text III, p. 638, and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 979-981.

from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān and lived a good life with a good name. During Akbar's time he attained the rank of 2,000. When in the 3rd year of Jahāngīr's reign the province of Gujarāt was taken from Murtadā Khān Bokhārī (Shāikh Farīd) and given in fief to the Khān A'zam, and as the Emperor was somewhat put out (*andakī labīdagī dāshī*) with the Khān, and did not trust him on account of his being a partizan of Khusrāu, he resolved that the Khān should remain at the Court, and that Jahāngīr Qulī Khān—who was an honest house-born servant and one of good discretion in whom he had full confidence—should manage the province as his father's deputy.

It is notorious that Mīrzā Kōka could not control his tongue, and that he was wont to use extravagant language. Especially, he could not restrain himself when he was angry, so that he would not respect even the presence of the King. One day it so happened that Jahāngīr said to Jahāngīr Qulī Khān, "Will you stand surety for your father?" Jahāngīr Qulī replied, "I will be surety for his life and property, but I cannot be responsible for his tongue." After that he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and received the government of Jaunpūr. At the same time Prince Shāh Jahān took possession of Bengāl and proceeded towards Patna. 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang went off to Allahābād as a vanguard, along with Rāja Bhīm. When he came to the Chausa ferry, Jahāngīr Qulī Khān perceived that resistance was beyond his power, and proceeded hastily from Jaunpūr and joined at Allahābād Mīrzā Rustam Šāfavi, the governor of the area. Later he was put in charge of Allahābād¹, and on the accession of Shāh Jahān, though he was removed from Allahābād he was kept in his former rank. In succession to Bēglar Khān, the son of Sa'īd Khān, he was made governor of Sōrath and Jūnāgarh. In the 5th year, 1041 A H (1631-32 A D), he died there. Shāh Jahān out of kindness to a house-born servant (*Khānazād*) raised his son and heir Bahrām² to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed him in the room of his father. He was a brave and capable young man, and founded Bahrāmpūra in Gujarāt after his own name.

(RĀJA) JAI RĀM BADGŪJAR

(Vol II, pp 241, 242)

He was the son of Rāja Anūp Singh³, who was also known as Anī Rāi Singhdīlan. During the lifetime of his father, he⁴ was honoured with a *manṣab* and appointed to various offices. After his (father's) death in the 11th year of the reign of Shāh Jahān he was granted a *Khil'at*, the title of Rāja, and the rank, substantive and with increments,

¹ Kōwal Rām says he was made governor of Bihār in succession to Ibrāhīm Khān in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign and was removed in the 14th year on the ground that his collectors oppressed the ryots. After that he was appointed to the Deccan.

² Bahrām died in the 18th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, see *Bādshāhnāma* II, p 733.

³ For his biography see *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text II, pp 220-223, and Beveridge's translation, pp 261-263.

⁴ Details of the increases in rank and his exploits are based on *Bādshāhnāma* I, II.

of 1 000 with 800 horse In the 12th year he was successful in receiving an increase of 200 horse In the 13th year, he was sent in attendance on Prince Murād Bakhsh, who was first appointed to Bhāra, but later ordered to Kābul In the 14th year, he again accompanied the same Prince to Kābul In the 19th year, his rank was advanced by 1,500 and 500 horse, and he was sent on the expedition for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān with Prince Murād Bakhsh And after Balkh was taken, he was deputed with Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān for the pursuit of Nadhar Muhammad Khān the ruler of Balkh In the 20th year, he by successive degrees attained the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse In the neighbourhood of Balkh he performed valiant deeds in connection with the chastisement of Ūzbegs and Almūnān In the 21st year, corresponding to 1057 A H (1647 A H), he died there The Emperor, on receipt of this news, exalted his son by granting him the title of Rāja and increase of *manṣab*, and thereby raised his position amongst his equals

(MIRZĀ RĀJĀ) JAI SINGH¹ KACHWĀHĀ

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(Vol III, pp 568-577)

He was the son of Rāja Mahā Singh When his father died, he, in obedience to the summons, came to wait upon Jahūngīr, and, in the 12th year, at the age of twelve received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and the gift of an elephant Afterwards, he was appointed to the Deccan along with Sultān Parvīz He gradually received promotion and rose to a high rank After Jahūngīr's death, as Khān Jahān Lōdī, the governor of the Deccan, was becoming rebellious and had gone to Mālwa Jai Singh who, owing to his helplessness, had kept on good terms with him, went off to his home from Ajmēr on hearing that Shāh Jahān was coming From there he came to the Court in the year of the accession (1628 A D) and received an increase of 500 horse and had the rank² of 4,000 with 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums Together with Qāsim Khān Juvamī he was sent off to chastise the sedition-mongers³ of Mahābān which is a pargana in the Sarkūr of Āgra, and returned after inflicting suitable punishment When in the same year, Nadhar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, stirred up strife and came to Kābul and besieged the city, and Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānūn was deputed to punish him, Jai Singh was sent with him In the 2nd year, he was sent with Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbatī in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī In the 3rd year, he was sent with Shāhīsta Khān to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī and to devastate the country of the Nizām ul-Mulk, he was granted⁴ an increase of 1,000 horse and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse When Khān Jahān Būrah was summoned to the Court on account of illness, the vanguard of A'zam Khān's forces was entrusted to Jai Singh He did good service

¹ He was a great-grandson of Mūn Singh *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 145 His father died at the age of 32 at Bālāpūr in Berār, vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūz-ul-Jahāngīrī*, I, p 376

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 120

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 196 and pp 204, 205

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 296

in the battle of Bhātūrī¹, and in the attack upon the *pettah* (suburb) and town of Parēnda². In the 4th year, he served along with Yamīn-ud-Daula, who had been directed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh, he was stationed in the left wing of the reserve. He came with him afterwards and did homage. Afterwards he had leave to go to his home. In the 6th year, he came to the Court and on the day of the elephant fights when an elephant attacked Aurangzib, the Rāja spurred his horse against it and flung his spear from the right side³. At the end of the same year he was sent off with Sultān Shujā' to the Deccan. In the 7th year, he was appointed with Khān Zamān to ravage the crops⁴ and to take Parēnda. During the siege of this fort and in bringing in forage there were constant fights with the enemy and the Rāja stood firm and did good service. When in the 8th year, the *Sūbadārī* of the Bālāghāt, which is another name for the *Sarkārs* of Daulatābād, Ahmadnagar, etc., was made over to the Khān Zamān, Jai Singh was appointed to assist him. In the same year, he had an increase of 1,000 and his rank became 5,000 with 4,000 horse. Afterwards he came to the Court and did homage. In the 9th year, he was sent off with Khān Daurān Bahādur to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle. In the 10th year he came to the Court and, as he had done good service in the Deccan, the King gave him a robe of honour and leave to go to his country of Amber so that he might rest for a while. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and was attached to Sultān Shujā' who, after 'Alī Mardān Khān had made over Qandahār, and as there was a likelihood of Shāh Safī's coming, had been sent off there. In the 12th year he was summoned to the Court, and received a pearl necklace and an elephant and the title⁵ of Mirzā Rāja. In the 13th year he had leave to go to his home. In the 14th year he was appointed to Kābul in attendance on Prince Murād Baksh, and, in the following year he was sent with Sa'id Khān to take the fort of Ma'u which belonged to the rebel Rāja Jagat Singh, the son of Rāja Bāsū. When he reached there and the siege was protracted, and an order was given for taking⁶ active measures, Rāja Jai Singh behaved better than the others. As a reward he received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse. The custody of the fort was entrusted to him. Afterwards, when Rāja Jagat Singh's sins were purged, Rāja Jai Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant, and went to Qandahār along with Prince Dārā Shukōh. In the 16th year he came to the Court, and was then allowed to go home. In

¹ In the Ahmadnagar territory. There was battle there in the 19th year of Jahāngir, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p. 518, but this cannot be the one now referred to. Apparently the word Bhātūrī must be wrong.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 357. Elliot, VII, p. 22.

³ In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 492, it is stated that Jai Singh's horse would not face the elephant and so Jai Singh had to attack from the right flank.

⁴ There does not appear to be any fort of the name of Kār, and it seems that the idea was to ravage the crops. The expedition referred to is described in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 35, 36. It is there referred to the 6th year.

⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 145, where it is stated that Jai Singh's great-grandfather Mān Singh had this title from Akbar.

⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 271.

the 17th year he, in Ajmēr, produced before the King 5,000 horse of his own troops. In the 18th year, when the government of the Deccan was entrusted to Khān Daurān, and he was summoned to the Court to receive instructions, Rājā Jai Singh was directed to proceed to the Deccan and to guard that country till Khān Daurān arrived.

When Khān Daurān died at Lāhōre a confirmatory robe of honour was sent to the Rājā, and in the 20th year he was summoned to the Court. After that he was attached to Prince Aurangzib on the Balkh expedition. When in accordance with orders that province was made over to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the Rājā had charge of the left wing during the return journey. In the 22nd year his contingent was increased by 1,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers, and his rank raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and he went with Prince Aurangzib on the Qandahār expedition. The right wing was assigned to him. When Qandahār was not taken, and Prince Aurangzib was summoned to the Court, Jai Singh came with him in the 23rd year. In the end of the same year he had leave to go home and was appointed¹ to chastise the turbulent men of Kāmān Pahārī which is between Āgra and Delhī. When it was reported that after going home the Rājā had collected nearly 4,000 horse and 6,000 musketeers and archers, and gone to the pargana in question and after cutting down the jungle had killed and made prisoners of many of the rebels and had got possession of much cattle, 1,000 more of his troops were made two-horse and three-horse and his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 4,000 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and pargana Hāl Kalyāna (Chāl Kalānah) of which the revenue was 70 lacs of *dāms*, was assigned for their support. In the 25th year he came to the Court, and was attached to Prince Aurangzib for the Qandahār expedition, and had charge of the vanguard. He received a special robe of honour and a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant from the royal stables.

When the taking of Qandahār was delayed, Jai Singh waited on the King at Kābul in the 26th year, and in the same year was attached to Sultān Sulamān Shikōh who had charge of Kābul. Afterwards he was attached to Prince Dārā Shikōh for the Qandahār expedition, and when that was unsuccessful, he came to the Court and took leave to go home. In the 28th year Sa'd Ullāh Khān the Jumlat-ul-Mulk was appointed to demolish the fort of Chittōr, and Jai Singh accompanied him. In the 31st year, when there was a report of Sultān Shujā's having gone astray and of his having laid hold of many of the exchequer-lands, Jai Singh was sent as a guardian of Sulamān Shikōh to oppose Sultān Shujā, and had an increase of 4,000 horse and 1,000 two-horse and three-horse. After Sultān Shujā was defeated, he was promoted, in his absence at the instance of Prince Dārā Shikōh, to 7,000 with 7,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse and three-horse, and in accordance with the orders of the Prince started for the Court. / When Aurangzib's army moved

¹ Khāfi Khān, I, p. 701, says that in the 24th year the Rājā's son Kēsari Singh was appointed to chastise the Mēwātīs and that pargana Kāmān Pahārī was given to him as a reward. See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 156-158, for an account of Kēsari Singh who is there called Kirat Singh. Kāmān and Pahārī are mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 195. The pargana Hāl Kalyāna of text should be Chāl Kalānah see Jarrett, *op cit*, p. 194.

from the Deccan, and after defeating Dārā Shikōh and Jaswant Singh came to Āgra and from there advanced to Delhi, Jai Singh left Sulaimān Shikōh prudently (*shēr fikrī*¹?) and entered Aurangzib's service. He was rewarded by an estate worth a kror of *dāms*, and in the 1st year of Aurangzib's reign was sent off to support *Khalil Ullāh Khān* who had gone in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh.

When Dārā Shikōh proceeded to Multān, Jai Singh halted, according to orders, at Lāhōre, and waited on the King. As he had long been absent from home and had undergone the fatigues of successive campaigns, he received permission to go home. After the battle with Shujā' he came to the Court, and did good service in the battle with Dārā Shikōh near Ajmēr. Later he was appointed with a force to pursue Dārā Shikōh and, in the 4th year he received an estate with a revenue of a kror of *dāms*. In the 7th year, he was appointed to chastise Sīvā (Shivaji) Bhōnsle who was behaving presumptuously and practising highway robbery on account of his possession of strong forts, such as Pūrandhar (Pūrandhar), which he had held from the time of the Nizām-Shāhīs, and was also associated with the sea-pirates. He besieged Pūrandhar and so pressed Sīvā that he became alarmed and came to interview the Rāja. He took 23 forts and when this news reached the Emperor, he was granted an increase of 2,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and his rank became 7,000 with 7,000 two-horse and three-horse troops. In the 8th year, he was appointed to devastate the country of 'Adil Shāh who had delayed to pay the fixed tribute. He advanced as far as Bijāpūr and took possession of many places. When there was a scarcity of corn he turned back and entered the royal domains. He had frequent encounters with the Deccanī troops who fought in a guerilla fashion. The Rāja personally exerted himself and fought bravely and discreetly. When the rainy season arrived, and an order was received to encamp at Aurangābād, he came there and was summoned from thence to the Presence. In the 10th year, 1077 A.H., he died² at Burhānpūr. He was famed for his good judgment and powers of administration and he was also fully conversant with military technique. He had much tact, and it was due to this fact that from the beginning of his career to the end of his life he lived with a good reputation and continually got promotions. His sons were Rāja Rām Singh and Kīrat Singh, separate accounts of both of whom have been given³. There is an area outside of Aurangābād and to its west which is named after him⁴.

¹ *Shēr fikrī* is a mistake for *zair fikrī* see *Maūthir ul Umārā*, Text III, p. 709 4th line from bottom, where the words *zair fikr* occur and appear to me an prudent. The explanation is not given in any of the dictionaries.

² According to the *Maūthir ul Ālamgīrī* p. 62, he died on 28 Muharrir, 1078 A.H. (20 July, 1667 A.D.).

³ *Maūthir ul Umārā*, Text II, pp. 301-303 and Text III, pp. 156-158.

⁴ According to *Rajputana Gazetteer*, II, p. 136, Jai Singh the 1st was succeeded by one of his sons. On the same page there is an account of Jai Singh II, viz. Jai Singh Sawā'ī, the astronomer, who was Mirzā Pūjā Jai Singh's great great grandson. The notice hardly does justice to Mirzā Pūjā. It is as if he poured oil on the fire and sent him to Aurangzib. Manucci was in the service of Jai Singh, and told a good deal to say about him see vol II p. 120 et seq. At p. 152 he repeats the tale about Jai Singh's having been poisoned, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar *His Majesty Aurangzib* IV, p. 129.

(DHĪRĀJ¹ RĀJA) JAI SINGH SAWĀ'Ī ✓

(Vol II, pp 81-83)

His father was Bishan Singh the great-grandson of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh. His name was Bijai Singh. After his father's death, Aurangzib, in the 44th year of his reign, gave him the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Rāja Jai Singh, while his brother was called Bijai Singh. In the 45th year, he was appointed to accompany Asad Khān in taking the fort of Sakharun-nā alias Khalnā. In taking this fort, he, on the day of the assault, distinguished himself, and in reward he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. After Aurangzib's death he came to Upper India from the Deccan along with Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh he was on the left wing of the reserve. They say, that on the same day he entered the army of Bahādur Shāh. On this account he lost respect in the eyes of the people. His brother Bijai Singh, who had chosen Bahādur Shāh's side was raised to the rank of 3,000 and disputed with him the possession of Amber. The King, who liked to please everybody, and did not want to dishearten anyone, confiscated Amber and appointed Saiyid Husam Khān Bārah as its *faujdār*. When he went to the Deccan to encounter Kām Baksh, Jai Singh left him on the march on a pretext of hunting, and taking with him his necessities and leaving his tents and porters went off with Rāja Ajit Singh to his native country. There he had a dispute with Husam Khān Bārah and fought several battles. At last the Khān was killed. When Bahādur Shāh returned from the Deccan, Jai Singh made the Khān-Khānān his intercessor and waited upon Bahādur Shāh on the march. He obtained leave on the promise that after two months he would present himself. In the time of Farrukh-siyar he got the title of Dhīrāj, and in the 5th year, he was appointed to chastise Chūrāman Jāt². Afterwards, Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, the maternal uncle of Qutb-ul-Mulk and Husam 'Alī (the Bārah Saiyids), was appointed to this service with a separate army. The affair of Chūrāman was disposed of by the intervention of Saiyid Khān Jahān, and Chūrāman waited upon the King. In this matter the Rāja was not consulted, and though he kept quiet, he was displeased, and as he took the King's side, the Saiyids became annoyed and disliked him. In the end of the reign, when he was at the Court, the Saiyids were at pains to conciliate him, and he, thinking the opportunity a good one, went to Amber in accordance with orders. In the affair of Nēkū-siyar he was suspected of siding with the latter, but at last he reconciled himself with the Saiyids. Afterwards when the affairs of the Saiyids fell into confusion, this feeling did not remain and in the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's reign he came to the Court and received various favours³. Afterwards, he was appointed to proceed against Chūrāman Jāt, and engaged himself in turning him out and in taking his *thānas*. In 1145 A H he was appointed governor of Mālwa in succession to Muḥammad Khān Bangash, and in 1148 A H, at his request the province in question was, through the

¹ Properly Adhīrāj, i.e. Supreme Rāja. Sawā'ī in Text is Sēwā'ī.

² *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp 540-548, Beveridge's translation, pp 436-442.

³ Beale states that he received the title of Sawā'ī from Muḥammad Shāh.

intervention of Khān Daurān, made over to Bājī Rāo Mahratta. He lived for a long time and then died (in 1743 A.D.)

They say, he was full of plans, and was acquainted with mathematics. Near Amber he built a new city and called it Jainagar (Jaipur). It is remarkable for the goodness of its shops, and the width of its streets. Outside of the city and also near Delhī, he at great expense built observatories¹. As thirty years were required for the completion of observations—this being the period of the orbit of Saturn—and as the lamp of his life was extinguished before that, his observations remained incomplete. He was succeeded by his son Īshwar Singh. After him, in the time of his son Prithī Singh some estates were taken possession of by the Mahrattas, and some imperial properties also fell into their hands. At the time of writing Partāb Singh the brother of Prithī Singh, is in possession of the territories.

JALĀL KĀKAR²

(Vol. I, pp. 530, 531)

He was the second son of Dilāwar Khān. He was appointed to the province of Kābul. Up to the end of Jahāngīr's reign, he held the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. On the accession of Shāh Jahān he received an increase of 500 with 100 horse. In the 3rd year, he along with Sa'id Khān did good service in the affair³ of Kamāl-ud-Dīn, the son of Rukn-ud-Dīn Rōhila. In the 12th year, when the Capital was adorned by the presence of the Emperor, he received a robe of honour and the office of *faujdār* of Jammū in succession to Shāh Qulī Khān. In the 13th year, when Sultān Murād Bakhsh was appointed with a force to remain at Bhēra, he was made one of the Prince's officers. In the 14th year, he was granted an increase of 300 horse and the present of a horse, and was appointed to the auxiliary forces of the Deccan. In the 18th year, his rank was 2,000 with 1,500 horse. After spending a long time in the Deccan, he, in the 30th year, went off with Mīrzā Khān Manūchehr to realise the balance of the tribute of Kōknā the *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh⁴. Later, at the request of Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur he was made *faujdār* and holder of Nasirābād⁵, etc., in Khāndēsh. After Aurangzib's accession, he, in the 4th year, attained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made *faujdār* of Hōshangābād in Mālwa.

¹ He also built an observatory at Mathurā but the buildings have been pulled down, see Growse, *Mathura* p. 141. There is an account of Jai Singh's astronomical work in *Asiat. Researches* V, p. 177 et seq. by Dr W. Hunter. *Tieffenthaler* r. I, p. 307, mentions that Jai Singh sent for Father Boudier from Bengal in 1733, and in 1736 Father Antony Gabelsperger and Andrew Strobl from Germany payed them their expenses. On p. 366, *Tieffenthaler* gives a pedigree of the Jaipur family from Beschan (Vislun?) and Brahma down to Siraj Jai Singh who was No. 110 in descent.

² An Afghān tribe.

³ It was an attempt of the Afghān tribes to take Peshāwar. See *Libal* *Ilak* r. I, p. 311.

⁴ In Mālwa vide *Jarrett's* translation of *Ā'in* II p. 200.

⁵ Vide *Jarrett*, op. cit., p. 225.

JALĀL KHĀN QŪRCHĪ

(Vol I, pp 509, 510)

He was an unrivalled companion and an intimate courtier of Akbar. He held the rank of 500. In the 5th¹ year he was sent to bring Tānsēn Kalānwat who in reciting poetry and in singing (*Dōharpad*²) was at the head of the cognoscenti of the art of music, and who was at the Court of Rām Chand Baghēla, the Rāja of Bhath. Jalāl Khān took with him a letter to the Rāja, and the latter sent Tānsēn along with presents. In the 11th year, when it was reported, that Jalāl Khān was infatuated with a beautiful youth, the Emperor was displeased and took away the youth from him. Jalāl Khān became quite excited and ran away at night taking the youth with him. When this was reported Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Radavī was sent after him with a body of troops, and he was brought back. For a long time he was kept in the *Jilaulhāna*³ and subjected to the kicks of high and low. After that he was received into favour again. In all expeditions he was attached to Akbar's stirrups, and afterwards was sent off to assist the force that was employed in taking the fort of Siwāna in Ajmēr. In the 20th year he came there and did good service. Chandar Sēn the Rāja of Mārwar retired in order to escape from the imperial forces. At this time a man came forward, and represented himself as Dēvī Dās who had been slaughtered in the battle with Mirzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Husain near Mīrtha in Ajmēr. He wished through the Khān's instrumentality to be introduced at the Court. As at that time search was being made everywhere for Chandar Sēn this impostor one day represented that Chandar Sēn was hidden in the *yāgir* of Kalā, the son of Rām Rāi and his (i.e. Chandar's) brother's son. Accordingly a force was sent against Kalā. Kalā denied this and arranged with Shimāl Khān Qūrchī to put an end to the impostor. He (i.e. Shimāl Khān) brought the impostor one day to his house and was preparing to arrest him. He by the strength of his arms escaped, and then, having revenge in his heart, one day, mistaking Jalāl Khān's quarters for Shimāl Khān's attacked him with some others. Jalāl Khān though unprepared fought bravely, but was killed in the year 983⁴ A.H. (November, 1575 A.D.)

(MĪR SAIYID) JALĀL ŠADR

(Vol III, pp 447-451)

He was the direct heir of Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad Bokhārī Radavī, who was separated by five generations from Shāh 'Ālam⁵, who is buried in Rasūlābād in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. Shāh 'Ālam was

¹ But it was in the 7th year, see *Albarnāma*, Text II, p 181, Beveridge's translation II, pp 279, 280.

² Properly *Dhurpad*, derived from the Sanskrit *Dhruvapada*, see Jarrett's translation of the *Ā'in*, III, p 251, note 2.

³ For *Jilaulhāna* see Beveridge's translation of *Albarnāma*, II, p 404, note 1.

⁴ Vide *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 159 and Beveridge's translation III, p 225, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 491. Jalāl Khān was Badā'yūnī's patron and introduced him at the Court. He is mentioned in a letter of Faḍlī as having introduced Badā'yūnī as a suitable person to be made an Imām (leader in prayers), vide *Muntalhab ut-Tawārīkh* Text III, p 304.

⁵ Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, III, p 372. Also *Khazīna ʿ-Asfiyā*, II, p 70.

born on 20 Jumāda II, 817 A H (6 September, 1414 A D) and died in 880 A H (1475 A D) He obtained initiation from his father Qutb 'Ālam who was a grandson of Saiyid Jalāl Makhdūm Jahāmyān On account of a quarrel with the governor of Ūch and by the orders of his father and teacher Shāh Maḥmūd, he (Qutb 'Ālam) in the time of Sultān Maḥmūd (Bēgarha) who was separated by two generations from Sultān Muzaḥḥar of Gujarāt, came to that country and settled in Batōh (Batwa) three *kos* from Aḥmadābād He died¹ in 857 A H (1453 A D) Mir Saiyid Muhammad was a successor of Shāh 'Ālam and was distinguished for ability and holiness He had no equal in thoughtfulness and piety Jahāngir commissioned him to translate the Qur'ān in an easy style At the time when Jahāngir went from Gujarāt towards Cambay, with the intention of sailing on the sea, the Mir was treated with great respect and accompanied him Shāh Jahān also had two interviews with the Saiyid The first time was in Aḥmadābād when he was a Prince, and the second time was when he was marching from Junair towards the Capital That great one made this line as a chronogram of his own birth *Man u dast u dāmān āl-Rasūl*—I shall hold with the arm the skirt of the Apostle's family (?), (989²)

They say that the Saiyid and his ancestors were of the Imāmiyya religion He died in 1045 A H (1635-36 A D) in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and was buried near the gate, towards the west of the tomb of Shāh 'Ālam

Mir Saiyid Jalāl was adorned with excellent qualities, and was versed in the current sciences He had a poetical vein, and his *talḥallus* was Radā'i

This quatrain of his is famous

Owing to my pride and haughtiness I am helpless, what can I do?

Though I am a bondsman of need, what can I do?

I am dying through poverty but will not supplicate to my beloved

I am a lover with the temperament of a beloved, what can I do?

He was born on 15 Jumāda II, 1003 A H (25 February, 1595), *Wārith Rasūl*—Heir of the Apostle—is the chronogram After the accession of Shāh Jahān he came, by his father's order, to offer congratulations He was received at Āgra with favour After his desires were fulfilled he returned to his native land He again came to the Court As his

¹ Jarrett, *op cit*, p 372 The month and day of Shāh 'Ālam's birth as given in the text differ from those in Jarrett The latter agrees as to the month with the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, and it appears that Saiyid Muhammad was the son of Saiyid Jalāl Māh 'Ālam There is an account of Saiyid Muhammad and his son Jalāl in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, pp 328 and 331

² The chronogram yields 989 A.H (1581 A.D) The same chronogram is given in the *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 329 That in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, p 27, is slightly different and is apparently incorrect As Saiyid Jalāl the son was born in 1003, his father must have married and probably had a child at the age of 13 or 14 It was apparently at Maḥmūdābād that Jahāngir saw Saiyid Muhammad and engaged him to translate the Qur'ān, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūẓul-i-Jahāngiri*, II, pp 34, 35, and *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p 107 The date of death of Saiyid Muhammad is given in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, p 27 as 12 Rajab, 1045 A H (22 December, 1635 A.D) He was buried in the Second Cemetery which was made by Saif Khān

ancestors had also served as officers of the kings of Gujarāt, Shāh Jahān on the 7th Sha'bān, 1052 A H, in the 16th year, by importunity induced the Mīr to doff the garments of a faqīr and to accept the rank of 4,000 and the office of the *Sadārat* of India in succession to Mūsavī Khān. The Saiyid, notwithstanding his pleasing manners and lofty descent represented¹ that owing to the perfunctoriness and carelessness of Mūsavī Khān grants of maintenance land had been made to many persons who were not entitled to them, and many had got hold of lands by forged documents. An order was issued to the dominions that until inquiry into grants had been made, maintenance lands are in general confiscated. Although in the realm of service this kind of inquiry—which is based upon the obligations of one's position and the claims of the master—is reasonably and properly regarded as commendable, yet it resulted in the Saiyid having a very bad name with the public.

It happened that at the same time the Bēgam Šāhība's² dress caught fire, and she was badly burnt. Much charity was bestowed, and prisoners were released. Debts were remitted, and the above order was also cancelled. The Mīr's allowances were gradually increased till they came to 6,000 with 6,000 horse. If death had spared him, he would have had still greater promotion. He died young at Lāhōre, in the 21st year on the 1st Jumāda I, 1057 A H (4 June, 1647 A D).

They say, that Mullā Muḥammad Šūfī of Mazandarān came from Persia in his youth and visited many parts of India, and then settled in Ahmadābād. He became acquainted with the Mīr and instructed him. The Mullā's poetry is not without charm. This verse comes from his *Sāqīnāma*.

Verse

This wine has no connection with water
You'd say it is the melted sun

The Mullā made an anthology called the *Butkhāna*. It contained 60,000 verses from the *Divāns* of poets. Saif Khān the governor of Gujarāt, believed in the Mullā. In deference to the demand of Jahāngīr he was obliged to send him. He died on the road. During that period he made this quatrain.

O Shāh, neither throne nor ring remain,
For you only one or two yards of earth remain
Empty your chest and fill the darvīshes'³ bowl,
For this is all that will remain for you

When the King heard this he felt compassion

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 365

² Jahānārā the daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt by accident on the night of 6th April, 1644 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66, and Yazdani's edition of '*Amal-i-Šāhī*', II, pp. 399-403. See also Manucci I, p. 219, note.

³ *Kāsa* 'i-darvīshīn a kind of wine cup, and also a darvīsh's skull. Mullā Muḥammad is mentioned as a poet of Jahāngīr's reign in *Iqbāl-nāma* i-*Jahāngīrī*, p. 308. He is also mentioned at pp. 386 and 499 of Sprenger's *Catalogue* and in the *Ātishkadeh*. It seems he was a native of Amu: see Sprenger, p. 68 and note and p. 33.

See also the account of the *Butkhāna* in the *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 196, No. 366. The work was begun in the reign of Akbar.

In short, Mīr Saiyid Jalāl left two sons. The first was named Saiyid Ja'far. In appearance and disposition he entirely resembled his father. When the Mīr undertook the employment of *Sadr*, Ja'far became his successor at Shāh 'Ālam's tomb. The other son Saiyid 'Alī known as Radavī Khān became the *Sadr* of India. A separate account of him has been given (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp 307-309). Mīr Saiyid Jalāl married his daughter to Shaikh Farid son of Saiyid Bahwa' of Bokhāra known as Dīndār Khān.

(KHWĀJA) JALĀL-UD-DĪN MAHMŪD KHURĀSĀNĪ BUJŪQ
(Cut Nose)

(Vol I, pp 615-618)

In the beginning he was a servant of Mīrzā 'Askarī and went at his orders from Qandahār to collect the revenues of the province of Garmisr¹, during this time Humāyūn was passing through that country on his way to Persia. He heard of the arrival of the Khwāja and sent Bābā Dōst Bakhshī to him, so that he might take the proper course and enter into his service. The Khwāja accepted and became his servant. He presented everything he had in the way of money or goods, and Humāyūn made him his Major-domo. When after the return from Persia and the taking of Qandahār the Khwāja behaved in a greedy manner to Mīrzā 'Askarī's servants, he was handed over to Mīr Muhammad 'Alī. When in the year 959 A H, Humāyūn sent off Akbar to Ghaznī—which had been included in his fief—in order that he might learn the way to rule—the Khwāja was sent with him and made his adviser in all affairs. From that time he was continually an object of favour, and did good service. As the Khwāja was a Pādshāh Qulī², and did not go out of his way to pay homage to other men, and as courtiers desire that everyone should flatter them, many of Humāyūn's grantees did not like him. He also had the fault of jesting and sarcasm, which is the worst offence in men of rank, and used to make fun of the Amīrs. He said improper things under the guise of jokes—which the ignorant call joviality—and there was hardly anyone who had not been pricked by his thorns.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign the Khwāja received the rank of 2,500 and was sent off to the government of Ghaznī. The self-seeker group found its opportunity and incited Mun'im Khān, who was the governor of Kābul, and revived in him the old idea of vengeance. Also in India Bairām Khān was incensed against him and incited Mun'im Khān to put him to death. The Khwāja heard of Mun'im Khān's antipathy and fell into anxious thoughts. He could not go to India as the King had, on account of his youth, no authority there, and Bairām Khān was all powerful. Once in Humāyūn's time, Bairām Khān had, on account of the Khwāja's improper language, taken the opportunity of seizing him in the bathroom and treated him with great ignominy. Now (that he had the power) it was clear what he would do. What violence would not his rivals have recourse to now? Nor could he remain in Ghaznī.

¹ A tract of country in the territory of Khurāsān see Raverty, *Talakat Nāsiri*, I p 16, note 3, etc.

² This was the title Jalāl ud Dīn took, and it implied that he was the King's slave and nobody else's.

for the anger of Mun'im Khān was apparent, but disloyalty against him was the worst of faults. Consequently, he could not see how to give up service and go elsewhere. At last Mun'im Khān sent a body of men to him, and summoned him to his presence after giving oaths and promises, and then imprisoned him. After that, though his eyes were lanced several times, his eyesight was not destroyed. Thinking that he had been blinded, Mun'im Khān released him. The Khwāja went off as quickly as possible towards India by way of Bangash, but Mun'im Khān heard of this and sent some active men after him. The Khwāja was caught along with his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd and was bound and imprisoned. In the 3rd year some men were appointed one night to kill these two innocent men. Bairām Khān also had sent an order for their execution. On hearing of this Akbar was inwardly indignant, but as he had not yet thrown off the veil of inaction he left the punishment of evil-doers to the Almighty¹ God.

SHAIKH JAMĀL BAKHTIYĀR

(Vol II, pp 566, 567)

He was the son of Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhtiyār, and their dynasty entitled *Dīn Laqab* had been living for a long time in Chandwār and Jalīsar near the *Sūba* of Akbarābād (Āgra). His sister, Gōhar-un-Nisā, was the Superintendent (*Sar-Āmad*) of the palaces in the harem of Akbar, and by reason of this close association Shaikh Jamāl was raised to the rank of 1,000. Envious people, who had thorns of anguish in their hearts at his advancement, secretly mixed poison in his drinking water, the Shaikh became ill, and Rūp, one of the servants of the King, who had drunk some of the same water, also fell ill. When the news reached the King, he himself administered antidotes, and both of them recovered.

In the 25th year, he was ordered to accompany Ismā'il Qulī Khān on the expedition against Niyābat Khān, who had rebelled, and did good service in the battle front. In the 26th year, he was deputed with the Prince Sultān Murād against Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm. On the day of arrival of the Prince at Kābul, the Shaikh with great military skill took possession of the pass of Chanārtū, and after fighting a battle with the forces of the Hakīm Mīrzā joined the army of the Prince. One day Akbar was offended at the smell of wine which exuded from him, and excluded him from the Court. The Shaikh out of shame and pride squandered away all his property and assumed the garb of a mendicant. The King becoming greatly annoyed at this action put him into prison. After a time, however, his faults were forgiven and he was restored to favour. For a time he performed faithful service, but, as he continued with his vice, he later developed tremors. In the 30th year, while returning from Zābulistān (Afghānistān), he, owing to the increase of his malady, was permitted to stay at Lūdhīāna. In the same year, 993 A H (1585 A D), he² died.

¹ This biography is taken from the *Albarnāma*, Text II, pp 70, 71, and Beveridge's translation II, pp 108-110. See also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 417.

² His biography mainly based on the above account in *Maāthir ul-Umarā* is included in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 469, 470.

(MİR) JAMĀL-UD-DĪN¹ INJŪ

(Vol III, pp 358-360)

The Injūs belong to the Saiyids of Shīrāz, and they are descended from Qāsim-ur-Rāsī son of Hasan son of Ibrāhīm Tabātabā'i Husainī. Mir Shāh Maḥmūd, and Mir Shāh Abū Turāb were in later times the most distinguished of this family. By the help of Mir Shams-ud-Dīn Asad Ullāh Shūstari the *Sadr* of Irān, the first became in Shāh Tahmāsp's time Shaikh-ul-Islām of Persia and the second *Aqdī-ul-Quddāt* (Qādī of Qādīs). Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn was their cousin. He came to the Deccan and was treated with respect by the rulers there, and they allied themselves with him. Afterwards he entered Akbar's service, and, in the 30th year, received the rank of 600. In the 40th year, he had the rank of 1,000. They say, that by the end of Akbar's reign his rank was 3,000. When in the end of the 50th² year the fort of Āsirgarh was taken, 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr showed a desire to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Dāniyāl, and Akbar sent off the Mīr there with the betrothal paraphernalia. The Mīr, in 1013, held the marriage feast on the bank of the Ganges (Godāvari) near Pattan and made over the bride to the Prince, and himself came to Āgra. He produced before the King such a tribute as never had come before from the Deccan. As he was intimate with Prince Sultān Salīm, he obtained the rank of 4,000 when the latter ascended the throne and was exalted with the gift of drums and a flag. When Sultān Khusrau fled from the Court³, the Mīr was sent off to bring about a reconciliation by offering him the territories which Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm had held. He out of foolishness and an evil fate did not accept the offer. When he was captured and brought into the Presence with his companions, Hasan Bēg Badakhshī, who was the chief of Khusrau's affairs, made a long story before Jahāngīr and said, "I was not the only associate (of Khusrau), all the Amīrs who are standing here, were partners in this business. Yesterday Mir Jamāl-ud-Dīn Injū, who came to effect a reconciliation, took from us an agreement for an appointment as a *Panyhāzari* (5,000)." The Mīr changed colour and became agitated (*dast pācha gashī*). The Khān A'zam boldly said, "It is strange that Your Majesty lends an ear to this babbler. He knows that he will be put to death, and he wants to have a number of persons killed along with himself, I am the prime mover in this business, let me be visited with every severity that I deserve." The King on hearing these words, turned away from the matter, and comforted the Mīr. After that the Mīr was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year, he had the title of 'Adud-ud-Daula⁴. He presented a jewelled dagger—the

¹ Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 499-501.

² Āsir was taken in the 45th year, 1009 A.D., but the marriage did not take place till four years later.

³ *Az alkhāra*, apparently the author here uses a Hindūstānī word. The sending of Jamāl ud Dīn to offer terms to Khusrau is not mentioned in the authentic *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr, but is mentioned in Price's *Jahangir*, p. 86. In the authentic *Memoirs* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p. 68) Jahāngīr says he stopped Hasan B. when he began to talk wildly.

⁴ *Tāzūl i Jahāngīrī*, op. cit., pp. 317, 318. It appears that he presented the jewelled dagger on New Year's day of the 11th year and before he got his title (loc. cit., p. 320).

making of which he had himself superintended in Bijāpūr—on the hilt of which was a yellow ruby (*yāqūt*) of perfect water and of the size of half a hen's egg. It also had rubies of good colour and old emeralds of good water and colour. Its value was reckoned at Rs 50,000. For a long time he lived on his fief in Bahra'ieh. He came to the Court from there and died. He¹ had many accomplishments. He composed the *Farhang Jahānqīrī*, which is highly esteemed and reckoned as an authority. Certainly, it is of great value on account of its definitions of words and its fixing of the diacritical marks. His eldest son Mīr Amīn-ud-Dīn was appointed to the Deccan along with him. He was married to the daughter of 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān-Khānān, and obtained some promotion. He died in his youth. His second son Husām-ud-Dīn² Murtadā Khān has been separately noticed.

(MIRẖĀ) JĀNI BEĠ ARĠHŪN (the Ruler of Thatha)

(Vol III, pp 302-314)

He³ was a descendant of Shankal (or Shakal) Bēġ Tarkhān. As Shankal's father Atkū Tīmūr had bravely sacrificed his life in battle against Taqatmish Khān, Tīmūr took care of Shankal in his childhood and made him a Tarkhān. Four generations intervened between Atkū and Arghūn Khān who was the son of Abūgh Khān son of Hulākū Khān. Just princes distinguished some of their servants by certain privileges and gave them the name of Tarkhāns. The ushers (*Chāwshān*) had no power to prevent the Tarkhāns from having access to Tīmūr, and they and their children were not accountable so long as they did not exceed the commission of nine offences. Chengīz Khān had conferred the rank upon Qashliq and Bātā⁴ for having given him information about the enemy, and out of unbounded graciousness relieved them from the duty of attendance and they were excused from having to surrender the royal share in the plunder. Some Tarkhāns were exalted by seven privileges: first a drum (*tabl*), second a *Tūmān-tōgh* (a yak-tail standard), third a *Nagqāra* (kettle-drum), fourth two of his chosen men had a *Qushūn-tōgh*, i.e. a *Chatr-tōgh* (umbrella standard), fifth his *qūr* (weapons) were also borne—among the Moghuls no one but the ruler can carry a quiver in his hand (*bar rū-i-dast*), sixth he could enclose a forest as his hunting-ground, and whoever entered it became his servant, and seventh he was the head of his tribe. In the State-hall the Amīrs sat on either side of him at a distance of a bow's length.

When Tughlūq Tīmūr raised Amīr Lūlājī⁵ to this dignity he had two additional privileges, i.e., he could appoint and dismiss officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārī*), and secondly, he and his descendants were

¹ There is a very pleasing account of Jamāl ud Dīn in Sir Thomas Roo's *Journal, Halluyt Society*, p 238, etc. He died at Āgra in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.). He must then have been a very old man. His dictionary the *Farhang Jahānqīrī* has been described by Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1868, pp 12-15, and Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat., Persian MSS., A.S.B.* (1924), p 676.

² *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp 382-384.

³ Taken from *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 635, Beveridge's translation III, pp 973-975, and footnotes in which the various appellations are fully discussed.

⁴ See Beveridge, *loc cit*, p 973, note 5.

⁵ Būlājī in *Albarnāma*, see Beveridge, *loc cit*, p 974.

permitted to commit nine offences with impunity, an enquiry was, however, instituted when the number of offences exceeded nine. In retribution for having shed blood he was set upon a white horse which was two years old. A white rug was placed under the horse's feet. One of the grandees of the Barlās clan interrogated him, and one of the heads of the Arkīwat¹ clan conveyed his reply (to the Khān). They then opened his jugular vein (*shāhrag*). Those two grandees watched, one on each side of him, till he died. Then they took away his body from the presence and sat down and lamented over him. Khidr Khwāja raised Mīr Khudādād to this dignity, and added three more distinctions. First, on the marriage day, when all the grandees are on foot except a royal *yasāwal* who is mounted to keep order, the Tarkhān also will be on horseback. Second, at the happy banquet (of the marriage), one (of Khudādād's chamberlains) stood on the Khān's right holding the cup of mare's milk (*qamad*) and another on the left. Third, that his seal was to appear on the front of protocols, but the seal of the ruler would be placed above his. Shaikh Abūl Fadl says that all these favours, if they were conferred with prudence, would be acceptable to the Creator, but the provision about not inquiring into nine offences was not reasonable. Should rulers have ascertained by trial that the officer made a Tarkhān would not commit any wrong act, there was some sense in the procedure, but as for the provision about not inquiring into offences for nine generations, it would imply that the Almighty had given the ruler the power of knowing the future.

Mīrzā 'Abdul 'Alī son of 'Abdul Khāliq was the fourth ancestor (great-great-grandfather) of Jānī Bēg and he obtained high rank from Sultān Maḥmūd son of Mīrzā Abū Sa'id, and was made governor of Bokhārā. Shaibānī Khān Ūzbeg was his servant, but when he came to the sovereignty he wickedly slew² his master and his five sons. The sixth was Mīrzā 'Īsā, who was six months old. The Arghūn clan being without a head left Transoxiana and came to Khurāsān to Mīr Dhū-un-Nūn who was the Amīr-ul-Umarā and Commander-in-Chief of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and the guardian of his son Badi'-uz-Zamān Mīrzā, and held Qandahār in fief. When Badi'-uz-Zamān rebelled against his father, Mīr Dhū-un-Nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Afterwards, when the Mīrzā (i.e. Sultān Husain Mīrzā) died, his two sons Badi'-uz-Zamān and Muzaffar Mīrzā succeeded him. Khurāsān fell into confusion, and Shaibak (Shaibānī) Khān came to attack it. Amīr Dhū-un-Nūn was killed in the battle against him. Shujā' Bēg, known as Shāh Bēg, was his son and held Qandahār. In 890 A.H. he took the fort of Sīrī (Sēhwān) from the Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn, commonly known as Jām Nandā who was the ruler of Sindh. In former times the sovereignty of Sindh belonged to the Sūmrās. After 500 years, during which 36 persons ruled, and in the end of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq the sovereignty came to the Summas who belonged to the tribe of Jādūn. They called themselves descendants of Jamshēd, and each of them was called Jām. The country was annexed by the Emperors of Delhi. Occasionally it rebelled. Accordingly, Sultān Firūz Shāh in the time of

¹ See Beveridge, *loc cit*, p. 975

² In reference to the master who was killed, see Beveridge, *loc cit*, p. 976, note 1

Pān Bhata¹ thrice led an army into Sindh and brought him to Delhi. And he made over the country to his (own) servants. Afterwards, when Pān Bhata showed signs of good conduct he was made governor of the country and sent there.

When the Delhi Government became weak, the Sindh rulers allied themselves to the rulers of Gujarāt. But as the clans of Shāh Bēg were fixed in Sindh, he easily took Bhakkar and Siwistān. When Jām Nandā died, there arose a dispute about the sovereignty between Jām Firūz his son and Jām Salāh-ud-Dīn, who was one of his sons-in-law. The latter became successful through the help of Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. Jām Firūz was helpless and took refuge with Shāh Bēg. He helped him with an army, and Jām Salāh-ud-Dīn was killed. Jām Firūz again became successful. When Bābur Bādshāh came from Kābul and besieged Qandihār Shāh Bēg exerted himself to resist him. He was not successful, and so abandoned Qandihār, and laid hold of Thatha and its dependencies. The chronogram is *Kharābī² Sindh*—the ruin of Sindh (932 A H or 1526 A D). Jām Firūz could not resist him. He went off to Gujarāt and became an officer of Sultān Bahādur. Shāh Bēg coined money and had the *Khutba* recited in that country in his own name. He was a brave man and possessed of learning and of excellence. The *Sharh-i-'Aqā'id Nāsafi³*, the *Sharh Kāfiya*, and the *Sharh Matāli⁴* are by him. He took Multān from the Langāhs. When he died in 930 A H, his son Mirzā Shāh Husam succeeded him. He repaired the fort of Bhakkar, which is situated on a height in the middle of the Panjāb rivers and erected great buildings. He went on an expedition to Multān. Sultān Maḥmūd Langāh who was the ruler at the time suddenly died and was succeeded by his son Sultān Husam. Mirzā Shāh Husam besieged the place and took it in 932 A H, and appointed a governor of his own. Humāyūn, in the time of his misfortunes, came there, and was detained by Sultān Husam by subterfuges for some time at Bhakkar. Afterwards, when he made Nāsir Mirzā⁴—the paternal uncle of Humāyūn—his ally by promising to make him his son-in-law, he proceeded to contend with Humāyūn. The latter was obliged to go to Persia. Sultān Husam however, did not keep faith with Nāsir Mirzā. They say Sultān Husam was overcome by a fever and could not repose except in the river. He spent six months in descending the river and six months in ascending it. When he was coming towards Bhakkar some distinguished Arghūns left him and rushed to the throne Mirzā 'Isā son of 'Abdul 'Alī, the great-grandfather of

¹ See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 345, where it is Jām Bānhatīyah. It is Jām Māhtas in of Jām Anar in De and Prashad's translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, III, p. 774 and Jām Bānhatiya in De and Hidavat Hosain's Text, III, p. 513.

² The chronogram is wrong, and should be *Kharābī Sind*, and not *Sindh*. This yields 927. 932 must be incorrect for Shāh Bēg died in 928, and the *Maāthir ul-Umarā* a little lower down gives 930 as the date of his death. Sindh is no doubt a copyist's error. The true date is 928 as shown by the chronogram *Shahr Sha'bān*. The month and the year are Sha'bān 928 A H or June, 1522 A D. See Elliot, I, p. 502. Much of the history of Sindh in *Maāthir* article is taken from the *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation II, p. 345, and some is derived from *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* and Ferishta's History.

³ The list of Shāh Bēg's writings is taken from *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, see De and Prashad's translation III, p. 782, note 2.

⁴ Properly Yādgār Nāsir Mirzā. He was Humāyūn's cousin, being the son of Bābur's half brother Nāsir Mirzā. The name Yādgār may imply that he was a posthumous child.

Jānī Bēg, whose family had formerly been chiefs of the tribe Shāh Husain, with the help of his fosterbrother Sultān Maḥmūd, who was governor of Bhakkar, fought with 'Īsā. A sort of peace was made, and Mirzā 'Īsā got three shares, and Shāh Husain two. When he died in 963¹ A H (1556 A D) the whole country came into the possession of Mirzā 'Īsā. He died in 975 A H. A quarrel arose between his sons Muḥammad Bāqī and Jān Bābā. Muḥammad Bāqī, the elder brother, prevailed and became the ruler. In 993 A H (1585 A D) he was overpowered by madness and having fixed a sword hilt in the wall, drove the point into his belly and died. The Arghūns gave the sovereignty in name to his son Pāyinda Muḥammad, but as he was a recluse and inclined to be mad, the work of administration was entrusted to his son Mirzā² Jānī Bēg.

When the Panjāb was for fourteen years the residence of Akbar, the Mirzā, although he was so near, did not wait upon him. In the end of the 35th year, 999 A H (1591 A D) an order was issued to Khān-Khānān—who had been sent off from Lāhore to take Qandahār—to send someone to Jānī Bēg to warn him to be careful otherwise he was to punish him at the time of his return. Khān-Khānān held Multān and Bhakkar in fief. He left aside the direct route by Ghazni and Bangash and took the long route with the intention of visiting his fief. Meanwhile, as Sindh was added to his possessions, he obtained permission to conquer Sindh. Mirzā Jānī Bēg advanced 150 *kos* with a large force to encounter him and fought a gallant battle with him on the borders of Siwistān. He was defeated in Muharram 1000 A H and compelled to make peace. In the 38th year, 1001 A H, he accompanied Khān-Khānān to Lāhore, and paid homage to Akbar. He received the rank of 3,000, and was granted the fief of Multān. Sindh was assigned to Shūhrukh Mirzā. But at that time news came that the Arghūns to the number of 10,000 men and women, were coming up the river by boat. The boatmen and the servants were distressed by the emigration (*mulk raftgī*) and were tearing³ themselves with their hands and teeth. Akbar out of his innate kindness had compassion on Mirzā Jānī Bēg, restored him to the government of Sindh. The port of Lāharī (Lārī Bandar) remained crown-land and the *Sarkār* of Siwistān—which (Jānī Bēg) had formerly given as *pēshkash* (tribute)—was given in grant to other men. In the 42nd year his rank was 3,500. The Mirzā was adorned with eloquence and wisdom, and his words and deeds showed honesty. He was addicted to drink from his early years, but he did not show any evil effects from it, and was careful in his speech and acts. Excess of wine made him ill, and he got convulsions and delirium. He died in 1008⁴ A H, in the 15th year of the reign, at Burhānpūr after the taking of Āsir. They say, that one day at an assembly he said that if he had held such a fort as Āsir he would not surrender it for a century. Tale-bearers repeated this to

¹ See Do and Prashad's edition of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* III, p. 784, note 1. The year of the death of Shāh Husain's death is given there as 962, but this is apparently incorrect.

² See *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* III, p. 786.

³ *Akbar-nāma*, Text III, p. 612, B. version; a translation III, pp. 987-988.

⁴ He really died in 1009. See *Akbar-nāma*, Text III, p. 787, and B. version; a translation III, p. 1172. Perhaps the author means to insinuate that Akbar poisoned him. It was a charge against Akbar that he tried to poison Mirzā 'Īsā, the son of Jānī Bēg, but the latter by mischance took the poison pill himself.

Akbar and he was displeased, at this time Jānī Bēg died. He had a poetical vein. His pen-name was Halīmī. These verses are his.

Verses

Fortunate was the time when love was my companion,
Sighs during the night and cries in the morning were my normal
routine

Heaven's sad influence, however, did not leave it to me
To enjoy the fruits of sorrow which graced my life

The length of the country of Sindh¹ from Bhakkar to Kachh and Mēkrān is 257 *los*, its breadth on one side from Badīn to Bandar Lārī is 100 *los*, and on the other from Chāndū, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar, to Bikanīr is 60 *los*. On the east lies Gujarāt, to the north Bhakkar and Sīvī, to the south the ocean, and to the west Kachh and Mēkrān. It is situated in the second climate and lies in the Longitude 102° 30' and Latitude 24° 10'. Its Capital city formerly was Brahmanābād, at present it is known as Thatha and Dabīl. It is noted for its good climate and abundance of fruits, verdure adds to the beauty of the landscape, love of ease and music are characteristic of the people and wine and music are to be found in every house. The dress of the womenfolk whether old or young is saffron coloured. Though education is widespread, and learned and intellectual men are commonly found, iniquity and debauchery are rampant. Nobles and plebians go over to the tomb of the Pīr of Patha (who is the patron saint of the country) situated on a high area at a distance of about a league from the city. The Pīr was a follower and successor of Shaikh Bahā'ud-Dīn Zakariyā, his name was Ibrāhīm and title Shāh 'Ālam. In the north the mountains form several ranges, one extends to Qandahār, and the second from the sea-coast to the town of Kōhmār (also known as Rāmgar) and terminates in Sīwistān, where it is known as Lakhī. This area is inhabited by an important Balūch tribe called Kalmānī, and which can raise twenty thousand horsemen. A fine breed of camels is indigenous in the area. A third range runs from Sīwistān to Sīvī, it is called Khar², and is inhabited by a tribe called Tahmurdī that can raise a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. Next is another tribe of Balūch, known as Zāharī with a force of a thousand men. A fine breed of horses comes from this tract. A fourth mountain chain which touches Kachh on the one side and the Kalmānī territory on the other, is known as Kārah, it is inhabited by four thousand Balūchīs. From the boundary of Multān and Achh there run in the north to Thatha high mountain ranges inhabited by numerous clans of Balūchs, while in the south from Achh to Gujarāt there extends a barren sandy mountainous tract, and also from Bhakkar to Nasarpūr and Amarkōt. The people are dark and poor and are dependent on others for support. In the winter season there is no need of *postīns* (fur-lined coats), and the summer heat is moderate except in Sīwistān. Fruits of various kinds are found and mangoes are specially

¹ The following account of the topography of Sindh and the Liver-Eaters is taken almost verbatim from the account of the Sarkār of Thatha in *Ā'in-i-Albārī*, Text I, pp 555-557, and Jarrett's translation II, pp 336-339

² *Khattar* and *Nohmard* in Jarrett, *loc cit*, p 337

good. In the desert a variety of melon grows wild. Flowers are plentiful, and *Shālī* rice is abundant and of good quality. In the salt and iron mines of the area people can store curded milk for as long as four months. A species of fish known as *Palwah*¹ which is unrivalled for its taste and flavour is also found there. This area is very rich in its produce of grain, and one-third of the produce is taken over as the revenue. This area is divided into 5 *sarkārs* and 53 *parganahs*, and the revenue is 66,052,693 *dāms*². During these days the whole province of Sindh is governed by *Khudāyār Khān* Latī who had for a long time farmed the *Šūba* of Thatha with the *Sarkārs* of Siwistān and Bhakkar on behalf of the Government (of Delhi), and subsequently when by treaty the country on the other side of the Indus was ceded by the Shāh of the time to Nādir Shāh, the area on his behalf continued to be administered by the said Khān.

The greatest wonder in the narrative of this land is the description of the Liver-Eater (*Jigar Khwār*)—they are known as *Dā'ins* (witches?) He is a person who can abstract a man's liver by glances and incantations. Some assert that at certain times and under certain conditions he can render senseless any person he looks upon, and then takes from this person something resembling the seed of a pomegranate, which he conceals for a time in the calf of his leg. During this time the person, whose liver has been abstracted, remains unconscious. And when they become hopeless of his recovery, he throws this seed on fire, and it spreads like a plato. This (? the roasted seed) is divided amongst his companions and eaten, and the unconscious victim dies. He gives a portion of this food and teaches the incantation to whomsoever he wishes to make a convert to the practice of this art. And when he is caught practising this art, they cut open his calf and extracting the seed give it to the victim to eat, and he recovers. Most of the followers of this sect are women. If they are thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they do not sink. When it is desired to deprive any of them of this power, they brand both sides of his head and all joints, and filling the eyes with salt suspend him for forty days in a subterranean³ chamber, and give him food without salt, and some of them recite incantations over him. During this period he is known as *Dhahyrah*⁴. Although he has lost his power, he is still able to recognise (a liver-eater), and these pests are captured through his agency. He can restore people to health by incantations, and by administering certain drugs.

JĀNISH BAHĀDUR

(Vol. I, pp 511, 512.)

He was one of the *Yakahā* (single-fighters, i.e., paladins or champions) of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm. After the death of the Mīrzā he came with

¹ *Palwah* or *Palla* of Sindh is the famous *Hilsa* fish of Bengal. Its scientific name is *Hilsa ilisha* (Ham. Buch.)

² According to Jarrett, *loc cit*, p. 339, the revenue was 66,15,393 (or var 66,15,293) *dāms* or Rs. 1,65,383-13-2.

³ زیر زمین in the Text is apparently a mistake for زیر زمین

⁴ *Dohachrah* in Jarrett, *op cit*, p. 339

appointed as the officer-in-charge¹ of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and was further favoured with the grant of Rs 40,000 as a contribution for expenses. And in the 4th year, on arrival at the Court, he was exalted by an increase of 500 with 500 horse, and appointed as *faujdār* of the Lakhi Jangal. And he was later transferred to Siwistān as the *faujdār*. When in the 11th year, Qandahār was conquered by the royal officers, the *ṣubadārs* and *faujdārs* of the neighbourhood with auxiliary forces reached there for help. Jān Nithār Khān also hastened from his area, and took an active part in the fighting, and in the company of Quli Khān *Subadār* of Qandahār, he rendered valuable services in the conquest of the fort of Bust. In the 12th year, another 500 horse were added to his *Mansab*, and on transfer from Siwistān to Bhakkar he took up the government of the area in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān. And in the same year he died.

The Khān made a large harem by forcing most of the *Zamīndārs* of the area of the tribes of Sīmja and Sūdh to give their daughters to him, and in this way was able so successfully to carry out his policy (of control), that in a short time no trace of refractory or corruptive elements was left. After his death, all the *Zamīndārs* took away their daughters from his house by force. Perhaps this happened in Bhakkar (the boundaries of which adjoin those of Siwistān), for as is well known² he did not die in the province of Siwistān. His son Mīrzā Hafiz Ullāh received, in view of his claims as a *Khānazād*, royal favours from his childhood. In the reign of Aurangzib he was exalted with the title of Basūlat Khān, and was the *Bakhshī* of the army of Prince 'Azam Shāh at Bījāpūr, and for a time he remained in this office. They say, that he used to drink constantly and so died.

(MAHĀRĀO) JĀNŌJĪ JASWANT NIMBĀLKAR³

(Vol III, pp 806, 807)

He was the son of Rāo Ranbhā⁴ who in Aurangzib's time held high office, and was appointed to the Deccan. As he (Jānōjī) had had frequent disputes with the officers of Rāja Shāhū Bhōnsle, they, after making agreements with Husam 'Alī Khān made accusations against Jānōjī. Husam 'Alī Khān in order to please them managed by guile to imprison him. He was released at the request of Muḥammad Anwar Khān at the time when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh went to the Deccan from Mālwa and crossed the Narbadā, and was appointed to the auxiliary force at Burhānpūr. He, who was in distressed circumstances (?) (*lit* had a sore on his liver), was introduced to Āṣaf Jāh by Muḥammad Ghīyāth

¹ Khafī Khān, I, p 429

² Thus Jān Nithār Khān should not be confused with Yādgār Bēg, Lashkar Khān otherwise known as Jān Nithār Khān who was sent an ambassador to the Shāh of Persia, see *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, III, pp 168-171, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 201, 202. In the latter work no distinction is made between the two persons.

³ Banālkar in the Text appears to be a *lapsus calami* for Nimbālkar. Nimbāl kars of Phaltan are well known in Marhatta history, see Kincaid and Parasani, *History of Maratha People*, p 73, etc.

⁴ He is apparently the Ranbhāji Deccani mentioned in 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp 249, 293

Khān Bahādur, and entered his service. In the battles with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān and Mubārīz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself and received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After Āṣaf Jūh's death he held a suitable rank and had hereditary estates. He was a good manager of property, and developed the estates. He collected a suitable force and distinguished himself in battles. As he held high rank, he acted as a go-between for the Marhattas. In the time of Nāṣir Jang the Martyr, he received the title of Jaswant, and he did good service in his company in the Phulehary battle, though it was rumoured that he had a share in Nāṣir Jang's death¹. He died in 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.). His eldest son Anand Rāo Jaiwant who was distinguished for excellence died during his lifetime. At present his second son Māhā Rāo, and Rāo Raubhā the son of Jaiwant hold the fiefs, and are in government service.

JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 535-537)

He was the third son of Mukhtār Khān of Sabzawār. His name was Mīr Bahādur Dīl. At the time when Aurangzīb left the Deccan with the intention of obtaining the sovereignty and proceeded towards the Capital, Jān Sipār Khān accompanied the all-conquering royal stirrups with his elder brother Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Mukhtār Khān. In the battles which that fortunate King waged against his foes, Jān Sipār Khān showed fidelity and daring. After the battle with Dārā Shukōh he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse and received the title of Jān Sipār Khān. After that he was appointed to provincial duties (*Kārkhā-i-bērūnjāt* or outside duties), and always behaved well. In the 24th year, he was made governor of the fort of Bidar. After the conquest of Haidarābād he was made *faujdār* of Zafarābād. When Aurangzīb returned after settling that newly conquered country and encamped at Bidar-Zafarābād, Abūl Hasan the ruler of Telang—who, though his addiction to luxury and pleasure had during the fifteen years of his rule never gone farther from Haidarābād than Muḥammadnagar Gōlkonda, which is one *kos* distant, and for whom even daily riding was difficult—prayed that he be allowed to retire. And in truth Aurangzīb also disliked his disposition which was the very opposite of his own. Accordingly, he did not deal with him as he had dealt² with Sikandar the ruler of Bijāpūr after its conquest. He did not even summon him to his Presence, and from the first day kept him under surveillance. Accordingly, Jān Sipār Khān, who was *faujdār* of Bidar, was ordered to convey him to Daulatābād³ so that he might spend the rest of his life in comfort with his dependants. After that the said Khān was made the governor of Haidarābād which was a rich and well-inhabited country, especially when the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty had laboured to improve it. He spent a long time in that country and

¹ Nāṣir Jang was killed on 17 Muharram, 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1760 A.D.), vide *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 855 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

² Aurangzīb began by being generous to Sikandar (*Maāthir-ul-Ālamgīrī*, pp. 280, 282), but he afterwards imprisoned him. He died three years afterwards.

³ See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp. 384, 386, for Abūl Hasan's capture and his transfer to Daulatābād. Also *Maāthir-ul-Ālamgīrī*, p. 309.

administered it well. Since Shāyista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā and 'Aqī Khān Khawāfī few have exerted such power for so long a time. He died¹ in the 45th year, 1113 A H (1701 A D). His eldest son was Rustam Dil of whom a separate account² has been given.

JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN KHAWĀJA BĀBĀ

(Vol I, p 530)

He was the brother's son of Naqīb Khān³ of Qazwīn. In the time of Jahāngīr he was given the title of Jān Bāz Khān and attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in his former rank, and in the 3rd year he was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse. For a time he was *faujdār* of Mandsūr, and in the 18th year corresponding to 1055 A H (1645 A D) he died. From the list (*fihris*) at the end of the second decennium in the *Shāhnāma*⁴ it appears that he obtained the title of Jān Sipār Khān and the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, but the date of this occurrence has not been recorded.

JĀN SIPĀR KHĀN TURKAMĀN

(Vol I, pp 516-519)

His name was Jahāngīr Bēg, and he was one of Jahāngīr's officers. He was long employed in the Deccan, and by his zeal and bravery he did valuable services in the cause of the King's government. When the affairs of the Deccan were not improved by Prince Parvīz in spite of his long stay in Burhānpūr and appointment of leading officers, and large armies, and the expenditure of much treasure, on the contrary the rulers of the Deccan shook off the rope of obedience, for example, Malik 'Ambar who took entire possession of the Bālāghāt estates, it became necessary in the 11th year to appoint Prince Sultān Khurram⁵—who after his victories received the title of Shāh Jahān—to settle the affairs of the country. His rising Fortune was dreaded by the Deccanis and they bowed their humble and submissive shoulders beneath the burden. The arms with which they interfered with the imperial estates were shortened, and they had to pay tributes and the government revenue. In the 12th year the Prince distributed his companions and the officers of the Deccan to the *thānas* and *faujdārīs*, as he judged proper. Jahāngīr Bēg was favoured and sent off to administer the *thāna* of Jālānpūr which is 25 *los* (East) from Daulatābād, and was at that time the chief *thāna* in Bālāghāt, and many royal officers were appointed there in accordance with their ranks. Later some of the treacherous Deccanis

¹ Maāthur i 'Ālamqirī p. 179, where it is stated that Jān Sipār Khān the Naib of Haidarābād died in that year.

² Maāthur ul 'Umarā Text II pp 324-328.

³ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 496-498.

⁴ This is apparently the *Bādshāhnāma* II p. 762, but the number of horse there is 1,500.

⁵ For the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 266-279 and Banarsi Prasad *History of Salajān*, pp. 19-21. Also see Ferishta and Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk i Jahāngīr*, I, pp. 329-337.

proceeded to break their engagements and to take possession of the royal estates. Nor were they content with the Bālāghāt, but even raised their standards as far as Burhānpūr. The Prince was compelled to undertake a second expedition to the Deccan and in the beginning of the 13th year of Jahāngir's reign he came to Burhānpūr. An army was appointed to chastise Nizām Shāh and Malik 'Ambar. After much fighting and severe battles, in every one of which the Prince's forces were victorious. Malik 'Ambar once more witnessed the Fortune of the Prince and turned aside from his evil ways and entered by the door of repentance, and stretched the hand of supplication towards the skirt of a desire for peace. Every one of the leaders remained on one of the estates of Bālāghāt till the end of the rains, and Jān Sipār Khān with 3,000 horse remained at Bīr. When a new division was made of the *thānas* he received an increase of rank and was made the *thānadār* of Bīr. When in the 19th year a battle took place at Bhātūrī¹—which is a dependancy of Ahmadnagar—between Malik 'Ambar and Mullā Muḥammad Lārī the Commander-in-chief and *Valī-us-Saltanat* of Bījāpūr, and whom 'Ādil Shāh its ruler both in verbal and written messages addressed as Mullā Bābā, the Mullā was killed by fate's decree, his army was thrown into disorder, and the royal officers who had been appointed to assist the Mullā were seized with the exception of Khanjar Khān who escaped to Ahmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān who conveyed himself to his own fief and strengthened the fort of Bīr. Shortly before Jahāngir's death, Khān Jahān Lōdī handed back Bālāghāt to Nizām Shāh and wrote to the imperial officers, who were in the *thānas*, that they should make over the estates to the agents of Nizām Shāh and come to Burhānpūr. Jān Sipār Khān obeyed the order and joined Khān Jahān. A few days had not elapsed when the report of the accession of Shāh Jahān gave fresh joy to the whole of India, and Jān Sipār Khān flew on the wings of swiftness, and having donned the pilgrim's dress paid his homage at the commencement of the reign². He obtained an increase of 1,500 *Dhāt* and 1,000 horse and so had the rank of 4,000 *Dhāt*, 3,000 horse and the gift of a flag and drums. In succession to Jahāngir Qulī Khān he was sent to take up the governorship of Allahābād. But according to the rule of the revolving heavens—that every good is allied with evil, and every joy is mixed with grief—the wine of success in this instance was followed by the capriciousness of failure, and the limpid waters of joy had at the bottom a sediment of sorrow. The cup was no sooner filled than it was emptied, and the roll not finished without the pages being turned over, in this very year did the cup of his life overflow. His son Imām³ Qulī held the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was in company with A'zam Khān⁴, the governor of the Deccan, when one day in Bālāghāt the 'Ādil-Shāhī and Nizām-Shāhī troops fell upon their rear. Multafat Khān, the leader of the army, left the flank exposed, and Imām Qulī and some others bravely sacrificed

¹ See Beni Prasad, *op cit*, p. 382

² *Bādshāhnāma* I, p. 185. His rank was, however, increased to 4,000 *Dhāt* and 4,000, not 3,000 horse, and in addition to the grant of a flag and drums he was given a *Khil'at*, and a jewelled dagger, and appointed governor of Allahābād.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 244, 304, 305

⁴ Irādat Khān the *Mīr Bahāshī*, who was in general command of the Deccan campaign.

their lives, and gathered eternal fame Jān Sīpār Khān also had a brother named Murtadā Qulī He had the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse He died in the Deccan in the 10th year

(MAHĀRĀJA) JASWANT SINGH RĀTHŌR ✓

(Vol III, pp 599-604)

He was the son of Rāja Gaj Singh In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he came with his father to the Court, and succeeded ¹ him after the latter's death. This was because, contrary to the custom of the other Rājputs—according to which the eldest son succeeds—the Rāthōrs choose the son whose mother was the special favourite of the father Accordingly the King made Jaswant Singh his father's heir although Amar Singh was the elder son, and gave him a robe of honour, a decorated dagger and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and the title of Rāja in accordance with his father's will, and also gave him a flag, drums, a horse with golden saddle and an elephant from the royal herd In the 15th year he was awarded a special *Khil'at*, a jewelled dagger with *Phūl Katārah*, a horse with golden trappings, and an elephant from the royal herd and was sent to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Dārā Shukōh, and in the 18th when the King moved from Āgra to Lāhōre, he was ordered to take charge of the city till the arrival of Shaikh Farīd son of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Kōka, and afterwards join the Court In the 21st year his rank was 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 3,000 were *dū-aspa* and *sīh-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse) At the end of the same year the rest of his troopers were also made *dū-aspa* and *sīh-aspa* In the 22nd year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur went to Qandahār which was besieged by the Persians, but according to orders stayed in Kābul When in the end of the same year the King came to Kābul, Jaswant Singh paraded 2,000 of his troopers before him In the 26th year his rank was 6,000 with 5,000 *dū-aspa* and *sīh-aspa* troopers, and this was increased in the 29th year, he also received the title of Mahārāja As his marriage with the daughter of Sarab Dēo Sēsōdīa had been arranged in the same year, he was permitted to go to Mathurā and afterwards to his home at Jōdhpūr In the beginning of the 32nd year when news of improper movements on the part of Murād Baksh and of the departure of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur from the Deccan was received, Dārā Shukōh in view of his own interests appointed two armies to block the way of his two brothers The Mahārāja had his rank increased to 7,000 with 7,000 horse and was appointed governor of Mālwa in succession to Shāyista Khān and received one hundred horses, one with golden trappings, an elephant and a female elephant and a lac of rupees He arrived at Ujjain, and though Aurangzīb endeavoured to conciliate him he was haughty and resisted After fighting and after some Rājputs had been killed and others had fled, Jaswant Singh thought himself lucky to have saved his life In the first year of Aurangzīb's reign when the royal army came to the

¹ See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p 34, for an account of the ceremony of disinheretance of Amar Singh, the name is written as Umra in that work

Sutlej in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Jaswant Singh, through the mediation of some officers, was pardoned and paid his respects. He was allowed to remain at Delhi till the end of the pursuit, and in the battle with Shujā' he commanded the right wing.

As he had been accustomed to the favouritism of Shāh Jahān and did not see any such in Aurangzib, he felt hurt, and eventually from foolishness joined the malecontents and removed the veil from the face of his actions. One night he left his station empty and went home with his troops. In the turmoil some of the baggage of Prince Muḥammad Sultān and of the King and the officers and soldiers was plundered. It was a great shock to the troops. After the end of the battle with Shujā' the King moved towards Ajmēr. At this time, as he was hopeless of the King's favour, he intrigued with Dārā Shikōh who was coming to his country from Gujarāt. Meanwhile he was by the intervention of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh made hopeful of pardon, and withdrew from Dārā Shikōh's party. As on account of his frequent faults he could not approach the King, he was, in his absence (*ghā'ibāna*) confirmed in his old rank and given the title of Mahārāja, and made governor of Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt). In the 4th year, he in accordance with orders went with all his troops to assist Shāyista Khān in the Deccan. In the 5th year he was removed from the government of Gujarāt and served for 2 or 3 years in the Deccan, partly with Shāyista Khān but chiefly with Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam who had been appointed governor in the room of Shāyista Khān. He exerted himself to the utmost of his power in laying waste Shivā's country and in the end of the 7th year he came to the Court. When in the 9th year the friendship between the King and Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia changed to enmity, Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, who had been appointed to Kābul before the imperial army marched, was accompanied by Jaswant Singh. When news came of the death of the King of Persia, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned from Lāhōre, Jaswant Singh also returned. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan in attendance on the same Prince, and in the 14th year he was made *thānadār* of Jamrūd in the province of Afghānistān. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1089 A.D. (December, 1678) he died¹. On account of his wealth and the number of his followers he was at the head of the Rājās of India, but as

¹ This is rather a meagre account of Jaswant Singh. It tells us nothing of his career during the last eight years of his life. Nor does it discuss the genuineness of Ajit Singh. Tod does not give many more facts though he devotes several pages to Jaswant Singh. According to him Jaswant Singh lost two other sons during his lifetime, and he died not in 1678, but in 1681. 1678, however, seems correct though Beale puts the event in December of that year, and Orme in the beginning of the year. It occurred at or near Kābul. Jaswant Singh's being made a Mahārāja is mentioned in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 98. The account of his death and of the flight of the Rājputs with his son Ajit Singh is given on p. 259 etc. Orme in his *Historical Fragments*, p. 252, gives a translation of a remarkable letter said to have been addressed by Jaswant Singh to Aurangzib about the capitation tax, but it is doubtful if it was really written by Jaswant Singh. For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 324-334, and pp. 351, 352 for the parentage of Ajit Singh.

In *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 171, it is stated that Jaswant Singh died in the city of Kābul and gives the date (p. 171) as 6 Dhul Qa'da 1089 A.H., 20 December, 1678 A.D., Jaswant Singh's appointment to the *thānadārī* of Jamrūd is noticed in the same work on p. 109. Manucci also refers to Jaswant Singh's death (II, p. 233).

he had been brought up luxuriously and had lived apart ¹ from the ups and downs of existence he did not possess the art of government. Outside of the walls of Aurangābād, towards the market place, there are a ward and a tank which bear his name. There are also the remains of a stone building on the bank of the tank. Kunwar Prithī Rāj his eldest son died in his lifetime. After his death two sons were born to two of his widows. One soon followed his father. The second is Muḥammadi² Rāj who became a Muhammadan, and was brought up in the palace. Another son, who his tribesmen say was conveyed to his home after many struggles, was made his heir and is Ajīt Singh. A separate account ³ of him has been given.

(RĀJA) JUJHĀR SINGH BUNDELA

(Vol II, pp 214-218)

He was the son of Rāja Bīr Singh Dēo. After his father's death he had the title of Rāja and received a suitable *maṇṣab*. At the end of Jahāngīr's reign he held the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. In the first year of the reign of Shāh Jahān he did homage and received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with *Phūl Katārah*, a flag and drums. When Shāh Jahān looked into the affairs, Jujhār Singh who had, without any exertion, got much wealth which his father had accumulated, became suspicious in accordance with the saying that "The faithless are fearful", and relying upon his forts and his jungles fled at midnight from Āgra to Ōreha (Ōndeha in Text), and set about strengthening his fortresses and collecting troops. Shāh Jahān sent Mahābat Khān and many other officers against him and an order was issued to Khān Jahān Lōdī the ruler of Mālwa to enter his country from the south by the route of Chandēri. 'Abdullāh Khān also received an order to proceed from his fief of Qanauj along with Bahādur Khān Rōhila and others from the east of Ōreha. When all three forces arrived near Ōreha they carried on a hot war, and 'Abdullāh Khān, Bahādur Khān and Pabūr Singh Bundela took the fort of Īrij. Jujhār Singh was helpless and sought an interview with Mahābat Khān and prayed for forgiveness of his offences. The King accepted his prayer, and Jujhār Singh in the 2nd year came to the Court with the Khān who put a string round his neck and holding the two ends in his hands produced him before Shāh Jahān. He presented one thousand mohurs and 15 lacs of rupces, and forty elephants.

When Shāh Jahān resolved to proceed to the Deccan in the 3rd year to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī and to lay waste the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk—who had protected him—and appointed three armies to devastate the country, he wrote to Jujhār Singh to act along with A'zam Khān the governor of the Deccan and gave him the title of Rāja. Afterwards,

¹ *Az kam u ziyād iraridāt ba yakū zist namūda*, which may be translated as he showed an existence apart from great or little circumstances. Apparently the meaning is that as he had always been affluent and powerful, he did not know the ups and downs of life.

² He died of Plague in the 32nd year, 1100 A H (1688-89 A D) vide *Maāthir* i 'Ālamgīrī p. 318.

³ *Maāthir ul Umarī*, Text III, pp 755-760, Beveridge's translation, pp 173-176.

when Yamīn-ud-Daula was appointed to command the Deccan forces, he (Jujhār Singh) and the other *maṣṣab-dārs* were placed in the rear. When the provinces of the Deccan were entrusted to Mahābat Khān, Jujhār Singh after staying some time with Mahābat Khān left his son Bikramājīt in charge of his troops and took leave and went home. After returning home he¹ in the 8th year, at the dictates of his own seditious nature, led an army against Bhīm Narām² the *Zamīndār* of Chūrāgarh which is the Capital of Garh Katankā³. He induced him by oaths and promises to surrender, and then put him to death with a large number of his kindred. He also took possession of his fort and his property. When Shāh Jahān heard of this event, he ordered that Jujhār Singh should surrender the land to the government, otherwise an equal amount of land would be taken from his own territory. Also that he should send 10 lacs of rupees of Bhīm Narām's property to the Court. On hearing of this from his agent Jujhār Singh wrote to his son Bikramājīt, who was in the Deccan, to take to flight and come home. Three armies under the command of Sa'id Khān Jahān Būrah, Fīrūz Jang Babādūr and Khān Daurān marched off to punish him. Prince Aurangzīb and Shāhista Khān also supported them. When the imperial armies had nearly arrived they first attacked Dhāmūnī and then Chūrāgarh. When Jujhār Singh could find no resting place, he went with his goods to the territory of Rāja of Dōgarh. The imperialists pursued him, and there were frequent fights. All his money and ornaments fell into the hands of the Ghāzī warriors. He himself crept into the jungles with his eldest son Bikramājīt. The Gōnds killed both of them in 1044 A H (1634-35 A D). Khān Daurān on hearing of this cut off the heads of both and brought them to Fīrūz Jang who sent them to the King along with a *lror* of rupees from Jujhār Singh's buried treasures⁴.

K

KĀKAR 'ALĪ KHĀN

(Vol III, pp 148, 149)

He was one of Humāyūn's paladins. In the year when Humāyūn set out to conquer India, Kākar 'Alī Khān attended on his stirrups. In the reign of Akbar he had the rank of 2,000. In the 11th year (973 A H) when Mahdī Qāsim Khān the *Ta'luqdār* of Garh made up his mind to go to Hujāz without Akbar's permission, Akbar appointed Kākar 'Alī Khān and others to that territory. In the battle with Ibrāhīm Husan Mīrzā which took place near the town of Sarnāl⁵ in Gujarāt, Kākar 'Alī Khān was one of the fighters. Afterwards he was appointed to accompany Mun'im Bēg Khān-Khānān to the Eastern districts. One day when the imperial army was besieging Patna, Kākar 'Alī Khān and his

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 95

- More correctly Narāyan, but so in Text

² Garh Katankā or Gōndwāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp 321-326³ For a detailed account see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 79-89⁴ Middle of Sha'bān, 980 A H (December, 1772 A D), vide *Ā'in*, Blochmann's translation I (2nd edn), pp 353, 447

son attacked the enemy and distinguished themselves. They slew many of the foe and were themselves slain, in the year 980¹ A H (1573 A D)

KĀKAR KHĀN, or KHĀN JAHĀN KĀKAR

(Vol III, pp 152, 153)

He was one of the *Wālā-Shāhīs* (body-guard) of Shāh Jahān. After the accession he obtained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and a present of Rs 6,000. In the 3rd year when the Royal Court was established in the Deccan he, along with Rāja Gaj Singh², was appointed to the forces which were sent to chastise Khān Jahān Lōdī, and to ravage the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk. In the 8th year he was appointed³ along with Sayyid Khān Jahān Bārah to punish Juhjār Singh Bundēla. In the 10th year his rank was increased⁴ by 500 with 600 horse, and in the 13th his rank became 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Kākar Khān. Afterwards he was appointed to the fort of Qandahār, and he stayed there a long time. When in the 22nd year the King of Persia came and took the fort⁵, he went with Khawāss Khān the governor, and waited upon the Shāh. He received permission and returned to India. Along with Sultān Aurangzīb Bahādur, who had been appointed for the second time to the expedition, he was sent (to Qandahār). In the 26th year he went there in attendance on Sultān Dārā Shikōh⁶. No more account of his life has been noticed.

KAMĀL KHĀN GAKKHAR

(Vol III, pp 144-148)

He was the son of Sultān Sārang younger brother of Sultān Ādam. The Gakkhars are a large tribe and dwell between the Jhelum and the Indus in the folds of the hills and inhabit oases, etc. In the time of Shaikh Zain-ud-Din of Kashmir a Ghaznī officer named Malik Kid, who was connected with the ruler of Afghānistān, came and took the country out of the hands of the Kashmiris. He brought under his sway the whole tract from the Nilāb (Indus) to the slopes of the Siwāliks and the borders of Kashmir. Though other⁷ tribes such as the Khattar, Janūth (?), Aiwān (Awān), Chatarnih, Bhukiyāl⁸, Jhapa (Chubh) and

¹ In *Albarnāma*, Text III, p 82, Beveridge's translation III, p 115, the siege of Patna is stated to have been in the 19th year or 981 A H (1574 A D)

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 294.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 97

⁴ *Id.*, p 250

⁵ The Qandahār fort was surrendered to Shāh 'Abbās II on February 11, 1649, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p 225

⁶ For the expeditions of Aurangzīb and Dārā Shikōh, see Banarsi Prasad, *op cit.*, pp 226-235, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp 204-206

⁷ This account is partly taken from *Albarnāma*, Text I, pp 323, 329, Beveridge's translation I, p 559, and partly from the *Tabaqāt-i-Albārī*, De's translation II, pp 267, 268. For correct names of tribes, see Delmerick in *Journ As Soc Bengal*, XL, pt 1, 1871, pp 67 *et seq*

⁸ Apparently the correct spelling is Bhugiyāl, descendants of Sultān Bhuga Elhot, VI, p 309, note, and *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p 47, Rogers and Beveridge's translation I, p 97

They say that one day the King directed Amīr¹ Khān of Thatha to give a message to Kāmgar Khān. He sent word of this by a confidential person and requested the Khān to visit him. The Khān pretended ignorance and asked "What Amīr Khān? Amīr Khān was our cousin." The other between said "Amīr Khān 'Abdul Karīm of Thatha." The Khān said "He is 'Abdul Karīm the *Larāsh* (carpet spreader). Tell him that we do not visit the houses of *farrāshes*." By this remark he alluded to the fact that Mīr 'Abdul Karīm had been for a long time Superintendent of the Oratory. When Amīr Khān reported this story to the King, he said "After all he is the son of Jāfir Khān. You should not have sent for him to your house." The verses (*Qit'a*) of Nāmāt Khān 'Alī, of which this is the first couplet, refer to Kāmgar Khān.

Verse 2

The second marriage of the Khān of Iṣṭāḥim was (1)
Took place with perfect honour and splendour

(RAN) KARAN ✓

(Vol II, pp 201-208)

He was the son of Rānī Amrī son of Rānī Pratāp alias Kikā son of Rānī Udai Singh son of Pānī Sūmī *Zamīndār* of Mēwār. Mēwār is a part of the province of Ajmer, and the *Sarḍār* of Chittōr belongs to it. It has 10,000 villages. Its length is 40 *ḥos* and its breadth 33 *ḥos*. It has three important forts, Chittōr the Capital, Kōmbalmīr, and Māndal. The chief was formerly called Pāwal, but for a long time he has been styled Rānī. He belongs to the Gahlōt clan. When they made their home in the village of S'ōḍ they became known as S'ōḍiās. They claim to be descended from Nau hīrwān the Just. Their great ancestor was compelled by fortune to come to Berār and became known as the ruler of Narnāl². When Narnāl came into the possession of the enemy, a young boy, Bāpī by name, was conveyed from there to Mēwār by his mother. She took protection under Rāja Māndalik, a Bhīl. When he grew up he became famous for slaying beasts of prey, and became one of the trusted servants of the Rāja. When the latter died he became the

¹ Amīr Khān Snadhd of *Machhar d Udaia*. Text I, pp 303-310. Beveridge's translation pp 263-269.

² The present accretion of an old man marrying a young woman. It was Kāmgar Khān's second marriage. In fact Khān the father of Kāmgar Khān had the title of 'Ulāḥ al Mull and was nephew (brother's son) and son-in-law of Nūr Jahān's brother Aḍ Khān. This biography is based mainly on the references in *Machhar d Udaia*, pp 82, 156, 166, 172, 206, 216, 240, 260, 281, 297, 330, 405 and 497.

³ See Jarratt's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 268, where for villages "troops" is suggested. The number of villages is probably correct as in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, p. 93, it is stated that there are 6,044 villages and towns in Mēwār (Udaipur) excluding 94 managed by Government of India. It is the area given in Text and in *A'in* which seems to be wrong. In reality Mēwār has an area of over 12,000 sq. miles.

⁴ Var. Narnāl. See Jarratt's translation of *A'in*, II, pp 234, 268. Narnāl is in the Alōḍ district of the Berār, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI III, p. 379. The text is taken verbatim from the *A'in*, Text I, p. 505.

Rāja Rānā Sāngā was one of his descendants. He in 933 A H¹ (13 Jumāda II) along with other Rājas brought together 100,000 horse and fought a battle with Bābur and was defeated. In 934 A H (1528 A D) he died, and Rānā Uday Singh succeeded him.

In the 12th year of his reign Akbar proceeded to chastise the sons of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrā who were stirring up strife in Mālwa. When he came to Dhōlpūr, he, in order that the turbulent elements of Mālwa might be thrown off their guard, observed² that many Rājas of India had waited upon him, but that the Rānā was still in the sleep of forgetfulness. Now he would make a rapid march and punish him. He turned to Sakat Singh, the son of Rānā Uday Singh, who was one of his servants, and said: "May be that you can render useful service in this case." He in appearance agreed, but was alarmed and fled. In view of this Akbar determined to punish the Rānā. He first established stations in fort Sīvi³ Sūpar and the town of Kōtha and he also took the forts of Māndal and Rāmpūr. The neighbourhood of Udaypūr was also devastated. Chittōr was taken after a long siege. The Rānā hid himself in the folds of the hills. It appears that after some time he died, and that Rānā Pratāp succeeded him. Accordingly, Abū Fādl writes in the *Akbarnāma* that in the 18th year when Kunwar Mān Singh after chastising the *Zamīndār* of Dōngarpūr came to Udaypūr, the Rānā came out to meet him and put on with respect the royal robe of honour. He expressed himself warmly to the Kunwar and excused himself for his delay in waiting upon Akbar. In the same year the Rānā sent his eldest son Amrā along with Rāja Bhagwān Dās—who had come there from Īdar—and he made use of many flattering words and promised that after purging his offences he too would come and kiss the threshold. He also had an interview with Rājā Tōdar Mal—who was coming from Gujarāt—and exhibited much humility. Amrā after coming to the Court entered the King's service. In the 21st year Kunwar Mān Singh was ordered to chastise Rānā Pratāp and came to Māndalgarh. After collecting his forces he marched to Gōganda. A great battle took place and the Rānā was defeated and fled. In the same year Akbar came there in person, and as the Rānā had taken shelter in the hills, a force was appointed to act against him and to bring him and his eldest son to the Court. Meanwhile, the rebellion of Khusrāu took pace and the Rānā sent his younger son Bāgha. Afterwards, 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, and then Mahābat Khān were sent to pursue him. But there was no result. At last in the end of the 4th 9th year Sultān Khurram was appointed to the task. He established stations and pressed him so hard, that he had to submit and wait upon the Prince, and to give his eldest son Karan to accompany him. Kunwar Karan received a robe of honour and a sword, and to subdue his savagery he was every day awarded new favours. In the 10th year he was made

¹ Battle of Khānua on 16th March, 1527, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 17. In De's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī*, II, p. 39, note 1, the Hijrī date is given correctly, but 25th March, 1526, is incorrect.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 302, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 412, 143.

³ "Sheepoor, 12m SW Agra," Elliot, V, p. 325, the Sheepur of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 271, in the Gwalior State.

⁴ He was appointed in the end of the 8th year, see *Tūzūk-i-Sahāngirī*, Regrā and Beveridge's translation I, p. 256. The Rānā submitted in the 9th year (op cit, pp. 273-276). His name in that work is Rānā Amar Singh.

a *Pan̄hazārī* with 5,000 horse, and was allowed to go home. Afterwards his son Jagat Singh came to the Court and received a robe of honour and went home with Har Dās Jhāla. In the 11th year Kunwar Karan came to the Court, was honoured and again returned home.

When Sultān Khurram was appointed to the Deccan campaign, Rānā Amrā Singh and Kunwar Karan waited upon him and sent the grandchild (Jagat) to accompany him with 1,500 horse. In the 13th year, when Jahāngīr was proceeding from Gujarāt to Āgra, and came near the Rānā's territory Kunwar Karan did homage. In the 14th year Rānā Amrā Singh died¹, and Jahāngīr made Kunwar Karan the Rānā, and granted him a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant. In the 18th year Jagat Singh his son came to the Court. When Shāh Jahān, after his father's death proceeded from Junair towards Āgra, Rānā Karan waited on him in the vicinity of his territory and was graciously received. He died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, 1038² A H (1628 A D), and Jagat Singh became Rānā and had the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the campaign against Khān Jahān Lōdī when Shah Jahān went to the Deccan, 500 horse under the command of the Rānā's uncle named Arjun were in attendance. For some time the heir-apparent served with the expedition, and it was agreed that 500 horse under the charge of a responsible officer should always be on duty in the Deccan. He also received from the King presents of jewels, a robe of honour, an elephant and a horse. In the 26th year the Rānā died, and the heir-apparent was granted the title of Rānā Rāj Singh and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and received his native land in fief.

As in Jagat Singh's lifetime it was reported, that he had begun to repair Chittōr, although the agreement was that it should never be repaired, the King appointed someone to inquire into this matter. When it was reported that one or two gates out of the seven had been repaired, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was sent in the 28th year with a force to destroy the fort and to devastate the country. Some parganas also were made imperial stations. Rānā Rāj Singh went to Prince Dārā Shikōh and represented his humility, and agreed to send his son and heir and to demolish the repairs. He begged that his country might not be devastated by the troops. Accordingly, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān returned after destroying³ the fort. The Rānā sent his eldest son, who was six years old, to the Court which was then at Ajmēr together with his responsible officers and a present (*pēshkash*). The King presented him with a robe of honour, jewels, an elephant and a horse, and as it appeared that the child had not yet been named by the Rānā, he was called Subhāg⁴ Singh. An order was also passed that the Rānā should send his son and 500 horse to the Deccan.

When Aurangzib came to the throne, the Rānā received a robe of honour, and in the 22nd year when the King was at Ajmēr Rānā Rāj

¹ *Op cit*, II, p 123

² Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), I, p 296, states that Rānā Karan (Kurrūn) died in Jahāngīr's reign, though he gives the year as 1628, but Jahāngīr died on 7th November, 1627.

³ Tod, *op cit*, p 297, represents Jagat Singh or as he calls him Juggut Sing as having repaired Chittōr, and does not speak of the fortifications having been destroyed.

⁴ Subhāg—the fortunate. There is the variant Suhāg.

Singh, after asking permission to do so, sent ¹ his son Kunwar Jai Singh to the Court. After some days he received a robe of honour, a *sarpēch* a horse and an elephant. In the same year when the levy of the *Jizya* ² (poll-tax) was approved of by the King, the Rājput annoyance was added to their natural recalcitrancy, and they became presumptuous. Accordingly, it was resolved in the 23rd year to march from Ajnēr against Udaipūr and to chastise the Rānā. The Rānā abandoned Udaipūr and fled, and an army under Hasan 'Alī Khān ³ was appointed to pursue him. Afterwards, Muḥammad A'zam Shāh and Sultān Bidār Bakht were nominated to the task. When the Rānā's territory was trampled upon, he left his home, and was without a refuge. In the 24th year he supplicated the Prince and in lieu of the *Jizya* surrendered the parganas of Māndal and Budhnūr. Then he came to the Rāj Sumandar ⁴ tank and waited upon the Prince, and was confirmed in the title of Rānā and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the same year he died and a mourning robe was sent to Rānā Jai Singh, his son.

(RĀO) KARAN BHŪRTHIYA ⁵

(Vol II, pp 287-291)

“He was the son of Rāo Sūr. After his father's death he, in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāo and the fief of Bikānir. In the beginning of the 5th year he came from his native country and did homage. He was sent off along with Vazīr Khān to take Daulatābād. When the said Khān, in accordance with orders, returned while on the march to that place, he too came back. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan and did good service in the taking of Daulatābād. He also served well at the siege of Parēnda. After the death of Mahābat Khān he was attached to Khān Daurān the governor of Burhānpūr. In the 8th year when the King came to the Deccan, and Sayyid Khān Jahān Bārah was sent off to take Bijāpūr, he was appointed under him ⁶. In the 22nd year he was made governor of Daulatābād in succession to Siyādat Khān and had an increase of 500 horse and the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 23rd year he had an increase and his rank became 2,500 with 2,000 horse. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and afterwards, when the fort of Daulatābād was given to Sultān Aurangzib Bahādūr

¹ Maāthir i-‘Ālamgīrī, pp 174, 175

² For *Jizya* see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp 268-275. it was levied from 12th April, 1679, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 242

³ In the text Husan, but the variant Hasan agrees with Maāthir i-‘Ālamgīrī, p 186

⁴ Rāj Sumand, 25 miles north of Udaipūr (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, III, p 13, and Tod, *op cit*, p 310). See Maāthir i-‘Ālamgīrī, p 208, where the parganas are called Māndalpūr and Budhnūr. According to Tod, *op cit*, p 310, the Muḥammadans were several times defeated by the Rājputs, cf Khūfī Khān, II, pp 263, 264, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 379, 380

⁵ Kurrun son of Raja Rao Sing according to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn), II, p 145

⁶ For the campaigns against Ahmadnagar, see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 137-149

the increase of 500 and 500 horse—which he had received on condition of governing the fort of Daulatābād—was withdrawn. When the duty was entrusted to him of conquering the *Sarlār* Jawār¹ in the province of Aurangābād, which is bounded in the North by Baglāna, South by the Kōnkan, West by some districts of the Kōnkan, and East by Nāsik,—and of which the port of Jewal is a part—and where Srīpat the *Zamīndār* was behaving contumaciously, he, on the recommendation of Prince Aurangzib, was restored to the above increase and *Sarlār* Jawār—of which the revenue was 50 laes of *dāms*—was assigned to him. He was deputed by the Prince and proceeded towards that district. When he arrived at the borders of *Sarlār* Jawār, the *Zamīndār* was not able to resist him and submitted. He gave money by way of tribute and took the revenues of the district into his charge, and made over his son to accompany Rāo Karan as a hostage. After his return Rāo Karan waited on the Prince in the 28th year. When on the occasion of Shāh Jahān's illness the influence of Dīrā Shikōh became supreme, the officers who had been sent with Aurangzib to conquer Bijāpūr were recalled and set off for the Court. Rāo Karan also left the Deccan without the Prince's leave, and went to his home. Accordingly, in the 3rd year of Aurangzib's reign, Amīr Khān Khawāfī was deputed to Bikānūr. When he reached the boundary, Rāo Karan submitted² and came to the Court with the Khān and did homage along with his sons Anūp Singh and Padam Singh. He received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again appointed to the Deccan. In the 9th year he went off with Dīlēr Khān Dāūdza'i to punish the *Zamīndār* of Chānda³, but as he committed faults he became an object of censure. The chiefship of his tribe and the government of his native country were given to his son Anūp Singh, who was granted the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse. Owing to the income from his fiefs having been stopped, he fell into distressed circumstances and came and settled in Aurangābād. In the 10th year corresponding to 1077 A H (1666-67 A D⁴) he died. Outside of the town of Aurangābād, on the south side, inclining to the west there is a quarter which is named after him. He had four sons, Anūp Singh, Padam Singh, Kēsari Singh and Mōhan Singh. The three last died childless.

They say⁵ that Sultān Muḥammad Mu'azzam was favourably inclined to Mōhan Singh, and that on this account the latter became an object of envy to the Prince's servants. One by the name of Muḥammad Shāh the *Mīr Tuzul* (Master of Ceremonies),—whose tame deer had entered Mōhan Singh's premises—had a quarrel with Mōhan Singh in the open *Darbār*, and this became very acute. Each used weapons against the other. Other men joined and Mōhan Singh was wounded. Though Padam Singh was not on good terms with his brother, he on

¹ Jawhar, a native state in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 87. It is the Djavar of Tiefenthaler I p. 486.

² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 32, *Ālamgīrnāma* p. 599, *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 122.

³ According to *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 59, the name of the *Zamīndār* of Chānda was Mānji Malār.

⁴ The 10th year of Aurangzib's reign extended from July 1667 to June, 1668 and Rāo Karan must have died during this period.

⁵ See the story in Tod, *op cit*, p. 145, note. He refers to Ferishta, but as that writer died in Jahāngīr's reign, the reference is really to Jonathan Scott's translation.

hearing of the affair came and killed Muḥammad Shāh. They put Mōhan Singh into a palanquin and were taking him to his house, but he died on the way. Anūp Singh was at first appointed to the Deccan expedition and in the battle fought by Bahādur Khān Kōka he was on the left wing along with 'Abdul Karīm Miyāna. In the 18th year, at the request of the said Khān he received the title of Rāja, and in the 19th year when a battle took place under the leadership of Dilēr Khān Dāūdza'i with the Deccanīs, he was in the rearguard. In the 21st year he was left to defend Aurangābād. In that year Shivā Bhōnsle invested the city. Anūp Singh came out with his troops to his own quarter. Meanwhile, Khān Jahān Bahādur, who in that year was governor of the Deccan, came up, and the enemy fled. In the 30th year he was appointed governor of the fort of Naṣratābād, and in the 33rd, he, in succession to Rāo Dalpat Bundēla was appointed to the charge of Imtiyāzgarh Adōnī. In the 35th year he was removed from there and in the 41st he died. The chiefship then came to his son Sarūp Singh who held the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and who did service under Dhūlfāqār Khān Bahādur. After him his son Anand Singh and his grandson Zōrāwar Singh became chiefs. At the time of writing, Gaj Singh the adopted son of Zōrāwar Singh, who is of the same tribe, is the chief.

KĀRTALAB KHĀN.

(Vol III, pp. 153, 154.)

He was originally a Mahratta, and his name was Baswant Rāo. In the reign of Jahāngīr he became one of the royal servants and was appointed to the Deccan. He was given the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when he became a Muhammadan, he had the title of Kārtalab Khān. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when the royal standards were established in the Deccan, his rank was increased to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 9th year when the King came to the Deccan for the second time, and troops were appointed to chastise Shāhū Bhōnsle and to ravage the territory of 'Adil Khān, he was sent along with Khān Zamān. After that he served with the governors of the Deccan. In the 30th year he was attached to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur in the expedition against Qutb-ul-Mulk¹. After that business was disposed of, he was sent off by the Prince along with Kēsar Singh Zamāndār of Dēogarh to collect a sum of money for which the above named (Kēsar Singh) was responsible. Afterwards when the Fates made another arrangement, and the Prince proceeded to Upper India on the pretext of inquiring after his father's health, he conciliated Kārtalab Khān and took him with him. He was attached to Aurangzīb's stirrups in the battles² against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Dārā Shikōh. He died at his appointed time.

¹ The reference is to the expedition against Gōlcōnda in 1655 A.D., see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, pp. 204-212.

² Battle of Dharmat, April 25, 1658 A.D. and Sāmūgarh, June 8, 1658 A.D., see Sarkar, *op cit*, II, pp. 359, 377.

KHALIL ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol I, pp 775-782)

He was the younger brother of Aṣḥat Khān¹ *Mir Balhshī*. He was married to Hamida Bānū Bēgam the daughter of Saif Khān² and the daughter's daughter of Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula (Nūr Jahān's brother). In the reign of Jahāngīr he was imprisoned by Mahābat Khān along with Āṣaf (Yamīn-ud-Daula) at the time of Mahābat Khān's usurpation of authority. In the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān, and afterwards was made *Mir Tuzul*³ (Court Chamberlain). In the 6th year⁴, 1042 A H, 1632 A D, he was made *Mir Ātish* (Head of the Artillery), and in the 9th year he attained the rank of 2,000, and was made *Qarāwal Bēg* (Chief huntsman). In the 18th year he obtained the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse⁵ and was made *Qūrbēgī*⁶ (Keeper of the Arsenal). In the 19th year he was sent along with Prince Murād Baksh for the capture of Balkh and Badakhshān, and became leader of the left wing of the reserve. The Prince sent off Khalil Ullāh Khān with Chīn Qulij Khān and Mirzā Naudhar⁷ Ṣafavī from Chāhrikārān to go by Ābdarah and take the forts of Kahmard⁸ and Ghōrī. The Khān by his rapidity went on one stage ahead with Mirzā Naudhar and when they passed the *katal* (defile) of Gandak⁹—which is the boundary between the province of Kābul and Kahmard, he appointed a body of men to go with all possible speed to Kahmard. The Ūzbegs were disconcerted as soon as the heroes arrived and left the fort and fled. A few of them at first stood firm, but at last they asked for quarter and surrendered the fort.

Khalil Ullāh Khān after taking steps for strengthening the fort, went on with Mirzā Naudhar a stage ahead of Qulij Khān and sent on a force against Ghōrī—who had come out of the fort under the impression that the imperial troops were men of the Hazārājāt,—but after a short struggle fled. The gallant men followed close on his heels and entered

¹ Aṣḥat Khān Mir 'Abdul Hādī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp 167-172, Beveridge's translation, pp 295-299.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text II, pp 416-421. His name was Saif Khān Mirzā Ṣafī and his wife—the daughter of Yamīn ud Daula—was Mahka Bānū. She died in the 14th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Khalil Ullāh Khān was son of Mir Mirān of Yazd. His grandfather who was also called Khalil Ullāh Khān, left Yazd and came to India with his son Mir Mirān on account of his family having been ill-treated by Shāh 'Abbās, *vide* Khāfi Khān, I, p 627, this was in Jahāngīr's time. The grandchildren remained in Persia but afterwards came to India.

³ See Banarsī Prasad *History of Shahjahan*, p 273. He was the Court Chamberlain or Master of Ceremonies.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 474.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of the terms *Dhāt* and *Suwar*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn) pp 249-259, Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p 9, Tripathi *Indian Historical Records Commission*, V, pp 60-62, Banarsī Prasad, *op cit*, pp 284-289.

⁶ *Qūrbēg* in dictionaries is given to mean Keeper of Arsenal, but Banarsī Prasad, *op cit*, p 273, following Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p 96, calls him "in charge of the royal standards" or "Lord Standard bearer". Irvine in *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p 205, describes him as officer entrusted with the insignia and standards.

⁷ Son of Mirzā Haider and grandson of Mirzā Muẓaffar Ṣafavī, *vide* *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp 99, 521.

⁸ North of Bāmiān.

⁹ Gambadhak in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 521.

the fort after fighting with him, Qabād took refuge in the citadel, and then came to terms with Khalil Ullāh Khān and waited upon him. The said Khān made over the fort to Ihtimām Khān and joined the Prince along with Qabād. After that country had come into the possession of the imperial servants and the learned Sa'ad Ullāh Khān had arrived in the city of Balkh for the purpose of making a settlement, Khalil Ullāh Khān took the confidential servants of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān with him and returned to the Court. In the 20th year he again went off to the Balkh campaign with the fortunate and victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib. He had arrived at Duḥāk when he heard ¹ of the death of Asālāt Khān (his elder brother), and from excess of affection his heart turned away from worldly matters and he retired into solitude. Though the Prince came to console him and gave him counsels of patience and said to him that at such a crisis it was repugnant to loyalty to withdraw himself from the King's service, the exhortation had no effect. Accordingly, he was punished by being deprived of his rank and *jāgīr*. In the 21st year he showed signs of repentance, and was again given the *manṣab* of 4,000 *Dhāt* with 3,000 horse, the fief of Mēwāt and its *faujdārī* in succession to Shāh Bēg Khān, and was ordered to go to his fief from Lāhōre without having the honour of waiting upon the Sovereign. In the 22nd year he was made *Bakhshī*. In the 23rd year he was appointed in succession to Ja'far Khān to the high post of *Mīr Bakhshī*, and in the 24th year he received an increase of 1,000 horse, and on the death of Mukarmat Khān he was made *Sūbādār* of Shāhjahānābād. In the 26th year he was made a *Panjhazārī* (5,000) with 4,000 horse and was appointed with a large force to go in company with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā to protect Kābul—the government of which had been assigned to Prince Dārā Shukōh and his son—but which the Prince was leaving to besiege Qandahār. After that, as the ruler of Srīnagar (Garhwāl)—which is in the hills north of the Capital—trusting to the strength of his fort and the difficulties of the hills, had not since the accession of Shāh Jahān paid his respects, and was showing signs of rebellion, Khalil Ullāh Khān was appointed to chastise him. He was, however, ordered first to go to his fief and put it in order, and then to go on the expedition. In the 29th year he came from his estates to the Capital and in Safr 1065 A.H. (December, 1654 A.D.) set out with 8,000 horse. The *Zamīndār* of Sirmūr ²—which is the top of a hill north of the Capital, and the place from which ice comes to Shāhjahānābād—joined Khalil Ullāh Khān and assisted him. When he came to the Dūn—which is a place outside of the hills of Srīnagar and is in length 20 *kos* and in breadth five *kos*, and one end of which touches the Jumnā and another the Ganges, and has in both directions villages and cultivated estates—he began near Khēlāghar to establish stations (*thānas*). Up to the bank of the Ganges he built earthen forts at every place that he judged proper, and appointed bodies of men to look after them. When he came to the bank of the Ganges, which had to be crossed in order to enter the hills, he sent a force across and took possession of *thāna* Chāndnī which was a dependency of Srīnagar outside of the Dūn and Khēlāghar. Bahādur Chand the ruler of Kumāōn joined the army with the intention of rendering service

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 677

² Elliot, VII, p. 105

As the rainy season had nearly arrived, and the season for campaigning and for entering the hill-country was over, and moreover there was no reason for capturing that country the climate of which was inimical to all but the inhabitants, who belonged to the race of demons and wild beasts, Khalil Ullāh Khān, in accordance with the imperial orders reserved the question of the hills and settled the Dūn—the revenue of which at that time was 150,000 rupees or sixty lacs of *dāms* for the twelve months—on Chatr Bhōj Chūhān as his fief on condition of his residing there. Chatr Bhōj then had a *manṣab* of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. The *thāna* of Chāndni was made over to the *Krōrī* of Hardwār¹. Thereafter Khalil Ullāh Khān returned to the Court and was again granted an increase of two-horse and three-horse troopers. In the 31st year when after the sudden illness of Shāh Jahān, affairs took a different turn, and a change of residence became essential, he in Muharram 1068 A H (October-November, 1657 A D) moved from Shāhjahānābād to Āgra, the said Khān was appointed to take charge of the former city. When in the end of Shāh Jahān's reign Dārū Shukōh placed² on account of suspicion Muhammad Amīn Khān (son of Mir Jumla) the *Mir Bakhsī*³ under surveillance, that high office was restored to Khalil Ullāh Khān. After that when Dārū Shukōh resolved to oppose Aurangzib, he, from the great confidence that he had in Khalil Ullāh Khān, sent⁴ him off with a strong army by way of vanguard from Āgra to Dhōlpūr. On the day of the battle he with the *Mir*⁵ (?) Tūrānians and royal officers had command of the right wing. As he had secretly made promises of service and loyalty (to Aurangzib) he, in the height of the engagement, with 15,000 troopers who were swordsmen and spearmen did not move from his place though the Ūzbek troops who were with him behaved bravely and did what they could to repulse the foe. After Dārū Shukōh's defeat, and when Aurangzib was encamped in the environs of Āgra, Fādil Khān the *Khān-i-Sāmān* came again⁶ on behalf of Shāh Jahān and offered congratulations and invited Aurangzib to wait upon the Emperor. Aurangzib at first accepted the proposal, but afterwards at the instigation of self-opinionated advisers refused to go and do homage to his father. Shāh Jahān sent Khalil Ullāh Khān and Fādil Khān with messages. Khalil Ullāh Khān who in consequence of the former concord was admitted to a private interview before Fādil Khān, spoke so much against the invitation that Aurangzib's alarm and dread were increased a hundredfold, and he detained⁷ Khalil Ullāh Khān and sent back Fādil Khān without the latter

¹ Nāgar Dās the *Krōrī* of Hardwār, vide Elliot, VII, p. 107. For *Krōrī* see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 41, note †.

² *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 84, 95.

³ For *Mir Bakhsī* see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 210–233. He discusses in detail the meaning of the word *Bakhsī*, the number and duties of the officers at the Capital, on tour and on the battlefield.

⁴ *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 22.

⁵ Khalil Ullāh Khān was not a Tūrāniān, but he had Ūzbeks under him, vide *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 26. Apparently the word occurs in text because the author is abstracting from *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 95, where at line 4 from bottom the word *Sāyar* (سایر) occurs after the mention of some Ūzbek names.

⁶ *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 112. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 415.

⁷ *‘Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 114, 115, Sarkar, *op cit*, p. 416, where all relevant authorities are noted.

having attained his object Though the office of *Mir Bakhshī* was restored to Muhammad Amīn Khān, but 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Khalil Ullāh Khān was raised to the rank of 6,000 two-horse and three-horse troopers He was sent off from Aghrābād¹ in Delhi in command of the forces in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, and he, with Bahādūr Khān Kōka did not draw the reins till they reached Multān At the same time, in the beginning of the year 1069 A H (1658 A D) Khalil Ullāh Khān was made governor of the Panjāb In the 4th year he fell ill at Lāhōre and as the illness became protracted he came to the Capital, but on account of weakness was unable to pay his respects and alighted at his own quarters Tagarrub Khān (Hakīm Dā'ūd) and others of the royal physicians were ordered to visit him He had been much reduced by the length of the illness, and a slight injury—the consequence of carelessness in the matter of food—made his case beyond the reach of medicine! On 2 Rajab, 1072 A H (21 February, 1662 A D) he died Aurangzib² in appreciation of his services cast the shadow of kindness on his representatives and showed them various favours. Mir Khān, Rūh Ullāh Khān, and 'Aziz Ullāh his sons and Iftakhār Khān, Multafat Khān and Bahā'-ud-Dīn his brother's sons and Saif Ullāh Safavi his son-in-law received dresses of honour His wife and daughter received an annual allowance of Rs 50,000, and his sons and son-in-law received increases of rank

Khalil Ullāh Khān was of noble origin, and had great ability, he long served the royal dynasty He spent his last days in loyalty to the reigning Emperor For these reasons he acquired a great name They say that Khalil Ullāh Khān in comparison with his elder brother Asālat Khān was rough in speech and manners When both brothers were appointed to accompany Shāh Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda, Mahābat Khān was as much vexed with and full of complaints about Khalil Ullāh Khān as he was pleased with Asālat Khān Asaf Khān too was always worried on account of his unaccommodating nature³

(MIR) KHALIL ULLĀH YAZDI

(Vol III, pp 335-342)

He was a descendant of that paragon of wisdom Sayyid Nūr-ud-Dīn Shāh Ni'mat⁴ Ullāh the saint who is famed throughout the world for his

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p 39, who says the Aghrābād garden is now known as Bāgh Shālāmār, see also Sarkar, *op cit*, p 446

² Maūthir i-Ālamgīrī, p 39, and Ālamgīrnāma, pp 662, 663

³ Bernier, pp 53-54, refers Khāfil Ullāh and speaks of his treacherous advice to Dārā, but see the judicious remarks of Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn), p 584 According to Bernier, Khalil Ullāh was made Mir Bakhshī in place of his patron Dānishmand who had resigned as he was not a favourite with Dārā He also says that Khalil Ullāh behaved treacherously to Dārā because the latter had had him beaten with slippers If Khalil Ullāh stood still and did not attack the foe, would he have ventured afterwards to advise Dārā or would Dārā have listened to him? Bernier seems to be the only person who speaks of Khalil Ullāh's having 30,000 Mughals under him Khāfi Khān, II, p 26, speaks of his attacking Murād Bakhsh with 3 or 4,000 Uzbek archers The *Tadhkirā ul-Umarā* says he made the Shālāmār gardens in Lāhōre at a cost of six lacs For further details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p 399, note

⁴ In *Khazina Afsāya*, I, p 114, it is stated that Ni'mat Ullāh belonged to the Qādiri order Also see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn), p 203, according to which he died in 1424 or 1431 A D

miracles and expositions His lineage goes up to the Imām Mūsā Kāzīm (the 7th Imām), may God's blessings be on him and his venerable descendants! The place where the Saiyid was born and reared has not been ascertained, but after acquiring knowledge from many distinguished men he settled in Kirmān The learned men of that place accused him of heresy, and he answered, "They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same, but the greater part of them are unbelievers" (Sūra 16, v 85) As the Saiyid was a pupil of 'Abdullāh Yamanī Shāfa'ī some regarded him as belonging to the Shāfa'ī sect, but the following verse of his proves the contrary

Verse

They say to me what is your religion?
O ignorants, what religion do I have?
From Shāfa'ī and Abū Hanīfī
I hold my own mirror before myself,
They are all followers of my ancestor,¹
I hold the faith of my ancestor

His writings in treatises and pamphlets amount to nearly 500 As the report of his abilities spread everywhere the kings of the age put the rings of his discipleship in their ears He died in the year 728 A.H., and is buried in Māhān² one of the dependencies of Kirmān

Authorities differ in the accounts of his sons Those of the order, who to this day sit on the seat of their ancestors, maintain that they are descended from Amīr Ghivāth-ud-Dīn who was the direct son of the Saiyid But some maintain that the only son of the Saiyid was Shāh Khalīl Ullāh When Sultān Ahmad Bahmanī of the Deccan, who founded the city of Bidar became, in absence³, a disciple of the Saiyid, he begged that he would send him one of his sons The Saiyid was not willing to send his son, as he had only one, and so sent his son's son Nūr Ullāh⁴ Under the circumstances, Ghivāth-ud-Dīn may be a title of Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, and it is also probable that the birth of Amīr Ghivāth-ud-Dīn may have taken place after this event

They say that Sultān Ahmad considered the arrival of his Master's descendant (grandson) a great boon, and with his officers and sons met him in the environs of the city and brought him to his home He established a village at the place of meeting and called it Ni'matābād He exerted himself to the utmost to do him honour and gave him the title of King of Shaikhs (*Malik-ul-Māshā'ikh*) and ordered that he should

¹ Presumably, Mūsā Kāzīm who was born in 128 A.H. = 745-46 A.D., see *Khaṭīna Asfiya*, I, p. 48

² Māhān is situated to the south-east of Kirmān Seven appears to be a mistake in the Text for 8, as Ni'mat Ullāh belonged to the 8th century of the Hījra and died in the 9th century in 834 A.H. (1431 A.D.), see Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn) I, p. 329 and Rieu, *Persian MSS Cat.* II, p. 634, where it is stated that Māhān is eight passages (leagues) from Kirmān, and that Ni'mat Ullāh died there on 22 Rajab, 834 A.H. (April, 1431 A.D.) at the age of 103 or 104 lunar years

³ *Qhā'ibāna*, i.e. without having had a personal interview with the Saint

⁴ Ferishta says Ni'mat Ullāh first sent his disciple Quṭb ud-Dīn, and afterwards his grandson Nūr Ullāh, *vide* his account of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, I (Newal Kishore edn), pp. 328, 329

have precedence over the son of Saiyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz. He also gave him his daughter in marriage. Shāh Khalīl Ullāh also after his revered father's death came with his two sons Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh and Shāh Muḥib Ullāh to Muḥammadābād (Aḥmadābād) Bīdar. When he had accomplished his purpose he returned to his native country. But some¹ say that he died in the Deccan. As Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh and Shāh Muḥib Ullāh became connected by marriage with Sultān Aḥmad and his son Prince 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, Shāh Ḥabīb Ullāh entered² the service of the son, and made over the charge of the monastery to his younger brother Shāh Muḥib Ullāh. He himself assumed the pomp and circumstance of Amīrship and indulged in drums and a retinue. He obtained the township of Bīr as a fief. When the sovereignty came to the son of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn who was known as Humāyūn Shāh the Tyrant, he imprisoned Ḥabīb Ullāh who had opposed him. As the latter's brain was suffused with the vapours of leadership, he escaped from confinement, but was at last put to death. The chronogram³ is *Bar āmad rūh pāk Ni'mat Ullāh* (The pure soul of Ni'mat Ullāh departed). His descendants are still living in the Deccan. Some persons in Badakhshān and Tūrān also claim relationship with the Saiyid. Probably in course of time one of his descendants had gone to those regions. A strange thing is that every one of them has a different creed and ascribes it to the Saiyid. Those who are in Yazd and Kirmān, and represent their great ancestor, have not varied but preserve his doctrines, and his lineage. One of this family who rose to honour and prosperity in Persia (Fārs) and 'Irāq was Mīr Nizām-ud-Dīn 'Abd, the successor of Shāh Ṣafī-ud-Dīn son of Amīr Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn. He became *Sadr* of Shāh Ismā'il Safavī. The *Vakīl* of the State, Amīr Najm Thānī, had great faith in this family, and when he went to Balkh he made the Mīr his deputy. When Amīr Najm Thānī was killed (at Gajdiwān) the Mīr became the royal *Vakīl*. He fell into the hands of the Turks at the battle of Chāldīrān in 920 A H (1514 A D) and was killed. His son Saiyid Na'im-ud-Dīn known as Ni'mat Ullāh II—who was distinguished for his piety and abstinence and who spent his days in prayer—was married by Shāh Tahmāsp Safavī to his own sister, Khānīsh Khānam. He died in Hamadān and left behind him more than 40 lacs of rupees, these were divided between his son Amīr Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Mīr Mīrān and his daughter Parī Paḥkar (Fairy-faced) Khānam. Mīr Mīrān was the object of honour by the Shāh and had the title of Murtadā-i-Mammālik-i-Islām—the chosen of the realms of Islām. His sons Mīr Ni'mat Ullāh and Mīr Khalīl Ullāh became famous by marrying in the Safavī family. The faithful of the order of Shāh Ni'mat Ullāh behaved to him as disciples, and received enlightenment from him. They were unrivalled for their grandeur, houses,

¹ This seems to be taken from Fershta, *op cit*

² There is evidently something wrong in the Text here. In *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, III, p. 337, it is stated that Ḥabīb Ullāh died (*dar guzzsh*) in the reign of 'Alā' ud Dīn, but on the next page it is noted that Ḥabīb Ullāh was put to death in Humāyūn Shah's reign. It also speaks of Nūr Ullāh when apparently Ḥabīb Ullāh is meant. It was Muḥib Ullāh who became the son in law of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn (see Fershta *op cit*)

³ The chronogram is by Saiyid Tāhīr Astarābādī, and forms the 4th line of a quatrain, see Fershta, *op cit* p. 342 and De and Prashed's translation of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 84

favours His son Mīr Nī'mat Ullāh received the rank of 1,000 In the 25th year he became the son-in-law of Mīrzā Murād Kām Safavī the grandson of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār and who was *fauzdār* of Jaunpūr and was made his deputy In the beginning of Aurangzib's reign he got the title of Khān and had an increase of rank and was living with his father-in-law

Khān DAURĀN

(Vol I, pp 782-785)

He is Saiyid Maḥmūd the second son of Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang¹ After his father's death he received the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse By grace of fortune and in view of his good services, he surpassed his elder brother Saiyid Muḥammad in the pursuit of promotion and riches In the 22nd year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) he had a *maṣṣab* of 2,000 and in the Qandahār campaign he was attached to Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur In the 23rd year at the time of the return he came with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān—who was hurrying to salute the threshold—and had the honour of an audience He received his father's earlier title of Nasīrī Khān After that, he was made an auxiliary officer of the province of Mālwa and got the fief of Rā'isīn and the government of its fort In the 30th year he went to the Deccan in company with the governor of Mālwa, who, along with all the contingent of that country, had been appointed by Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib the governor of the Deccan to chastise 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh (of Gōlcōnda ²) After executing that duty in a proper manner, he returned to his home, and in the same year he was again ordered to the Deccan, and as an attendant on Prince Aurangzib did good service in attacking and devastating the territory of 'Adil Shāh ³

When Shīvā and Manājī Bhōṁsle ⁴, at the instance of the Bījāpūrīs, raised the head of disturbance in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadnagar, and attacked certain estates, Nasīrī Khān went there with 3,000 horse in company with a number of officers such as Kārtalb Khān and Īraj Khān, and acted bravely, and put many of Shīvā's men to the sword He took up his quarters in Pāndya Bīrgāōn, so that the rebels might not reach the royal estates After the taking of the forts of Bīdar and Kalyān, the exertions of every one of the contingent were brought to the notice of Shāh Jahān by the Prince and every one was suitably rewarded Nasīrī Khān received the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse In one campaign after another he distinguished himself by good service and became a favourite with the Prince, and when, after the battle with Rāja Jaswant ⁵ the Prince encamped at Gwālīyār, Nasīrī Khān came, according to orders, from fort Rā'isīn and did homage, and received the high title of Khān Daurān In the battle ⁶ with Dārā Shīkōh he commanded the right wing of the reserve, and after the victory, was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 2,000 were two-horse and three-horse He with

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp 749-758

² See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp 209-217

³ Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 244-250

⁴ Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp 49-53

⁵ Battle of Dharmat, 25th April, 1658

⁶ Battle of Sāmūgarh, 8th June, 1658

a portion of the army was sent to govern Allahābād after taking the fort, which was famed for its strength, and which was held by Saiyid Qāsim Bārāh on behalf of Dārā Shikōh. The latter, though he had heard of the flight of Dārā Shikōh, resolved upon loyalty, and did not desert, but exerted himself to strengthen the fort. Khān Daurān set about besieging the fort, but when Shujā' came from Benāres with the intention of giving battle, and arrived near Allahābād, Khān Daurān raised the siege and joined Prince Sultān Muḥammad who had come near the fort as the vanguard. When Shujā' gave fortune to the winds, and an army under the command of Muḥammad Sultān pursued the vagabond, Khān Daurān acted as the Prince's auxiliary.

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Bārāh the governor of the fort of Allahābād, who in accordance with Dārā Shikōh's letter had joined Shujā's army, made a rapid march to Allahābād after Shujā' had been defeated¹, and entered the fort before his arrival. Now he, from a consideration of final results, shut the gates against that hopeless one, and wisely chose the King's service. When Sultān Muḥammad came near Allahābād, Saiyid Qāsim turned to Khān Daurān, who, before this, had obtained the command there and was besieging the fort. Saiyid Qāsim made him the instrument for procuring the pardon of his offences, and Khān Daurān, in accordance with the King's order, encompassed him with favours, and took possession of the fort, and addressed himself to the government of the province². In the 2nd year when the government of that province was made over to Bahādur Khān Kōka, Khān Daurān was made the governor of Orissa. He went there and spent a long time in that distant province. In the 10th year³, 1077 A H, he died there a natural death.

KHĀN DAURĀN AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ

(Vol I, pp 819-825)

His name was Khwāja 'Āsam, and he came of a noble family⁴. His ancestors came to India from Rūstāq in Badakhshān and settled in Āgra. Some took to military life and some spent their days as darvishes. His elder brother Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far was one of the respected hermits. The discussion which Shaikh 'Abdullāh Wā'iz (preacher) of Multān had with him in the 3rd year of Farrukh-siyar's reign about asceticism and the virtues of the saints is well known. Khwāja Muḥammad Bāsīt was the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Ja'far. At first Khwāja 'Āsam held a small post in the body-guard (*Wālā-Shāhīyān*) of Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān. When the latter, on the death of Aurangzib, proceeded to Āgra from Bengāl at his father's summons, and left his son Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar in Bengāl, he put his son in the Khwāja's charge. As he was possessed of good manners, and ability,

¹ Battle of Khajūhā, 14th January, 1659

² 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 303

³ See *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 62, where the appointment of his successor to the *Shūbadārī* of Orissa is mentioned, his death must have occurred early in 1667 or late in 1666

⁴ For his life see Sir Jadumath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp 264-266, etc

he in a few days became the favourite of Farrukh-siyar, and had the management of his affairs. Other dependants wrote such attacks about him that Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān summoned him to his presence. When Bahādur Shāh died and Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān was killed in battle with his brother, and Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar sat upon the throne, and with the aid of the Bārah Saiyids proceeded to make war upon his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, the above-named Khwāja came to Farrukh-siyar and was made *Dārōgha* of the *Divān-i-Khās*, and received suitable emoluments and the title of Ashraf Khān. He was also for some time *Mīr Ātish* (Head of artillery) in addition to his *Dārōghaship*. After Farrukh-siyar had vanquished his uncle and had come to Delhī, the Khwāja was in the first year raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and had a flag and drums and the title of Samsām-ud-Daula Khān Daurān Bahādur Mansūr Jang. Afterwards, when in consequence of the levity and inexperience of the Sovereign, and the arrogance of the Saiyids of Bārah friendship between them was changed into enmity, the Khwāja—who possessed caution and good sense—did not break off with the Saiyids though he shared in the Emperor's counsels. In the 2nd year when the Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān went off to the government of the Deccan in succession to Nizām-ul-Mulk¹ Fath Jang Bahādur, he was made deputy of the Mīr Bakhshī. At the same time he was made 2nd Bakhshī in succession to Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur. Afterwards he was made governor of Gujarāt, and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, who had been made Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, was made his deputy.

When the sovereignty came to Muḥammad Shāh, and Husain 'Alī Khān was killed in the first year of the reign and his troops gathered together and Saiyid Ghaurat Khān, Husain 'Alī's sister's son, came to the royal enclosure with his men, the King, at the instance of his well-wishers mounted on an elephant and stood in front of the *Daulatkhāna*. The Khwāja during the height of the commotion came with his men and was attached to the vanguard. After Ghaurat Khān had been killed, and the disturbance was quelled, the Khwāja received the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā and the charge of the office of Mīr Bakhshī. For a long time he remained in that appointment. He had pleasant manners, and was affable, and was fond of the society of the learned. In his company subjects of learning were always discussed. He was courteous to strangers, but reserved with his rivals. Whatever he got from his fiefs he spent upon his soldiers who were all in good condition, and there was no self-seeking in his management of state affairs.

They say that when Ja'far Khān, the governor of Bengāl, died and Shujā'-ud-Daula the son-in-law of Ja'far Khān was appointed in his place, he sent a large sum of money, which might mean lakhs² (of rupees) for the Khwāja in addition to the royal tribute, and the Khwāja deposited the whole of it into the royal treasury. The Rājās were much in league with him. When the Mahrattas of the Deccan made a disturbance in Mālwa in 1147 A H (1734-1735 A D) he went along with the Rājās

¹ The Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He got the title of Fath Jang from Farrukh-siyar. For an account of his life, see *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp 837-848 and pp 875-882, also Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp 267-271, etc.

² *Ke ta'bir balakūk tawān kard*. Lakūk is given in the *Ghāth ul-Lughāt* as the plural of *lak*, a lakh or 100,000.

to chastise the vagabonds, and there was another army under Itimād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the Khān Daurān encountered Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar. But nothing suitable resulted, and he returned to the Court after arranging a sort of peace. In the year 1149 A H when Bājī Rāo made a commotion around the Capital, Khān Daurān¹ came out of the city and opposed him. In 1151 A H (1738 A D) when Nādir Shāh came to India, and the reigning Sovereign proceeded to Kārnāl to engage him, Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'adat Khān the governor of Ondh, who had fallen behind, made a forced march and joined him, and on hearing the news of the plunder² of his baggage hastened to oppose the Persians. Khān Daurān too followed with his troops to assist him. The opposing army came on the field in Cossack-fashion (in skirmishing order). Khān Daurān stood firm and fought to the best of his power. Many of his companions were killed, and he himself was wounded by a bullet. He was carried to his tent and died on the following day. Three³ of his sons who were with him, and Muzaffar Khān his brother—who had acquired a name for excellence, and had for a while been governor of Ajmēr,—were killed in this battle. His son Khwāja 'Āshwarī, who was made prisoner by the enemy, received his father's title in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, and in 1167 A H (1754 A D) was made Mīr Ātish. In the time of 'Ālamgir II he was made Amīr-ul-Umarā, and after some time died.

As Nādir Shāh has been mentioned, some notice of him is indispensable. He was of the tribe of Qurqlū which is a section of the Afshār Turkamāns. In ancient times this tribe lived in Turkistān. In the days of the supremacy of the Mughals in Tūrān (the Afshār Turkamāns) they came away from there and took up their residence in Adharbā'ijān. In the time of Shāh Ismā'il Safavī they marched forward and took up their abode at the fountain of Manāt⁴ Kōnkān Mahāl Anīward (?) (Abīverd?) belonging to Khurāsān, north of the holy Mashhad and twenty farsakhs distant from it and near the district of Marv. He was born in 1100 A H (1688 A D) and received the name of his grandfather Nadhr Qulī. As in the last days of the sovereignty of Sultān Husain Safavī there was confusion in the government owing to abundant slackness, and the absence of punishment, which is essential for rule—there arose in every brain and heart a desire for power. Accordingly, the Abdālī Afghāns and the Ghulza'i Afghāns took possession of territories in Khurāsān and Qandahār, while the men of Rūm (the Turks) took places on their borders. He first rebelled in his own country and fought with

¹ Bājī Rāo arrived outside Delhi on 9 Dhul Hijja, 1149 A H (9th April, 1737), see *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 289.

² Elliot, VIII, p. 61, Sir William Jones—*Histoire de Nader Chah*, p. 297, and Irvine, *op cit*, p. 343.

³ In Sir William Jones's *History*, p. 299, only one son is spoken of as having been killed. In a note in Frazer's *Nadir Shah*, p. 158, it is said that the eldest son of Khān Daurān was killed, and that Khān Daurān had two bullet wounds, one in the arm and another in the side. In Irvine, *loc cit*, p. 348, he is stated to have been mortally wounded in the face. The battle of Kārnāl was fought on 23rd February, 1739, 24th February according to *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 359.

⁴ Sir William Jones in his life of Nādir Shāh, *op cit*, p. 27, has the fountain of Meiab Krupe Kale twenty parasangs north of Mashhad and near Merv. It was their summer quarters. Frazer says he was born at Calot (Kalat-i-Nadir). That place lies to the N of Mashhad. Wardeh of the maps is probably Abīverd. Sykes in *History of Persia* (1930), II, p. 248, says he was born at Kala Kuhna or Old Fort in the autumn of 1100 A H.

his own tribesmen who opposed him, and prevailed over them. Afterwards, in repeated battles he killed the Afghāns and checked their power. After that he accomplished the conquest of the holy Mashhad (1138 A H, 1725-26 A D) and in 1141 A H took Isfahān. In 1145 A H he defeated the armies of Rūm and made peace on five¹ conditions: (1) The learned men of Rūm should count the Imāmiyya sect as the fifth sect. (2) The four pillars of the mosque at Mecca belong to the four Imāms; the men of the Imāmiyya religion should share with them in one pillar and say their prayers according to the Ja'far rites. (3) A Mīr Haj to be appointed every year from Persia, and to be treated with respect and honour. (4) The prisoners of the countries of Persia and Rūm to be released, with whomsoever they might be, and the buying and selling of them to be prohibited. (5) An agent from either Court to be always present so that the affairs of each country may be suitably disposed of. In the year 1147 A H² he ascended the throne, and in 1151 A H (1738-1739 A D) came to India. Muḥammad Shāh at last made peace with him and made over to him a large sum of money and endless goods³, among them the Peacock Throne which was made by Shāh Jahān. In 1152 A H he returned, and got possession of the whole territory of Persia, Balkh and Khwārazm. In the year 1160⁴ A H his sentries entered his tent at night and killed him. After him some of his sons rose to power. The last of them had nothing left but a name.

KHĀN DAURĀN NAṢRAT JANG

(Vol I, pp 749-758)

His name was Khwāja Sābir, and he was the son of Khwāja Hīsārī Naqshbandī. In the time of Jahāngīr he obtained an office and was

¹ There is no such account in Sir William Jones's life of Nādir Shāh. Afterwards at all events Nādir Shāh was a bigoted Sunni. There were said to be four orthodox sects of Muhammadans, and apparently Nādir demanded that the Shi'as should be recognised as a fifth orthodox sect.

² See *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp 317-320, for Nādir Shāh's early life. This date should be 1148 A H. On p 319 he is stated to have ascended the throne on 20th February, 1736, see also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 357, and Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, p 248.

³ For details of the indemnity levied by Nādir Shāh at Delhi, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's account in *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp 371-373.

⁴ In Sir William Jones's *History*, *op cit*, pp 400, 401, the date is given as 8th June, 1747, and the names of the murders are Ali Kuli Khan, Mohammed Saleh Khan and Mohammed Kuli Khan, and the place is stated to have been Fathabad two farsangs distant from Khabouchan. In the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 371, the date is 2nd June, 1747. Sykes in his *History of Persia*, II, pp 272, 273, mentions the names of only two, 'Mohamed Salah Khan and Mohamed Kuli Khan', and states that he was killed in 1160 (1747).

Sir William Jones's *History* in French was a translation of the Persian MS of *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā-i-Nādiri* (see Ivanov, *Descr Cat Persian MSS, As Soc Bengal*, p 30, 1924) by Muhammad Mahdī. In the Persian Text of this work published by the Asiatic Society in 1845, the date, on p 326, of Nādir Shāh's murder is given as یک شنبه یازدهم حادى الاحرى سال هرات و مد و شصت. The same date

and day are given in Oskar Mann *Das Mughal et-Tārīkh-i-Ba' DNādirye* (Leiden, 1896), p 15. This according to Wüstenfeld Mahler *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (1926) would correspond to 20th June, 1747 A D. The day, however, does not agree, as according to these tables 10th June was a Saturday, and 20th, therefore, would be a Tuesday and not a Sunday as recorded by the Author of the Persian work.

appointed to the Deccan Khān-Khānān¹ observed in him signs of courage and skill and patronised him. For some reason he retired from his service, and attached himself to Nizām Shāh. As he perceived that young men were encouraged there he entered among them and so exerted himself that he became an intimate companion, and received the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Later he gave up this service and became a servant of Prince Shāh Jahān, and received the title of Nasirī Khān. He was the Prince's close attendant in all the vicissitudes of his fortune and did not leave the least point of good service undone. In the case of occasional necessity he even looked after the saddles and bridles of the special horses. In the Tōns² battle (near Benāres) he was leader of Shāh Jahān's troops. As on that day all threw the dust of instability on their heads, he too could not maintain his ground. After 'Abdullāh Khān had behaved unfaithfully and had separated from the Prince, Khān Daurān also deserted in consequence of his being 'Abdullāh Khān's son-in-law and joined Malīk 'Ambar. On his death he joined Nizām-ul-Mulk who had established himself in position. In the 2nd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself at the Court and received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and his old title of Nasirī Khān. When in the 3rd year Shāh Jahān in Burhānpūr appointed a large army to chastise Khān Jahān (Lōdī) and to conquer the Nizām-Shāhī territory, Khān Daurān was directed to proceed in company with Rāja Gaj Singh. Out of his zeal he represented that if the task of taking the country of Telingāna and Qandahār³—whither Rāo Ratan had been sent—were entrusted to him, he would in a short time accomplish it. He received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and was deputed to that expedition. He set before himself the taking of the fort of Qandahār⁴—which was famed for its strength—and began by defeating Sarafrāz Khān the leader of the army of that country and who had prepared for a battle between the town and the fort. Muqarrab Khān, Bahlūl Khān and Randaula Khān the 'Adil-Shāhī had come in force to the assistance of the garrison and were making a commotion, but Khān Daurān's vigorous efforts made them turn back. At this time A'zam Khān the *Sūbadār* of the Deccan came to his help, and as the besieged saw that their capture was at hand, they surrendered. After four months and nineteen days Sādiq the son-in-law of Yāqūt Khudāwand Khān gave up the keys in the 4th year, 1040 A H (1631 A D). The guns⁵ Malīk Dab, Bijli, and 'Ambarī known as Major and Minor, and other great and small cannon to the number of 116, each of which was enough to overthrow an army or a city, together with other materials for the defence of a fort, were taken possession of. Nasirī Khān had

¹ 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān-Khānān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp 693-713, Beveridge's translation, pp 50-65.

² Tōns is a tributary of the Ganges, see Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, p 456. The battle was fought in 1624 at Damdama, a village in the Alla hābād district near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges, *vide Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 173. For an account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp 366-386, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 40-52.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 307.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp 374-377.

⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 377. Two guns of the name of 'Ambarī are mentioned there, and instead of Bijli we have Tajalli. It was only the four large ones which were fit for use.

an increase in rank of 1,000 and of 1,000 horse. In the same year at the time of his leaving for Bālāghāt he received, at his request, the distinction of the *Māhī-o-marātib*¹, this, in old times, was a decoration which was customary with the Delhī Sultāns and which was given by them to the rulers of the Deccan. After that it acquired great glory in this country (the Deccan), and was given by the princes thereof to whosoever was considered by them worthy of great favour. In the 5th year he was appointed as the *Sūbadār* of Mālwa in succession to Mu'taqad Khān.

They say that when Ujjain and Sārangpūr became his chief after the death of Khwāja Abūl Hasan,—who had developed them for a long time—there was such a famine in Khāndēsh and the Deccan that a loaf was dearer than a life (*nānē bajānē mē arzīd*). The reliance of the inhabitants of those countries for food was on the corn of Mālwa. Nasirī Khān filled the granaries with gold. Never was so much money obtained from the estates of Mālwa.

When in the 6th year Mahābat Khān besieged the fort of Daulatābād, Nasirī Khān was appointed to assist him, and distinguished himself. One day Khān Zamān had filled a mine with seventy maunds of gunpowder, when it was fired, 28² yards of the wall of 'Ambarkōt and 12 yards of its bastion were blown up, and a wide path was laid open. But on account of a rain of musketry and rockets by the garrison no one advanced. Mahābat Khān wanted himself to go forward on foot, but Nasirī Khān said, "Such an idea on the part of a leader is contrary to all canons of skill I'll go." He cast the shield of Divine protection over his face and ran to the fort. He passed through the arrows and bullets and fought with sword and dagger. The garrison, on seeing such devotion and zeal, after a short struggle, retired to the Mahākōt (the great fort). And when that too was opened by a mine they surrendered and delivered up the keys. Every one³ whom Mahābat Khān appointed to defend the fort rejected the task because there was no food in the fort, and because during the four months of the siege they had endured various hardships. Nasirī Khān, who had 2,000 troopers in his service, accepted the duty from his great love of work, and in concert with Saiyid Murtadā Khān superintended the defence of the fort. After the Bijāpūr troops had followed the Commander-in-chief for some stages, they returned to Daulatābād. They entered the batteries, which were still standing and invested the fort. As Nasirī Khān repeatedly showed activity and energy, they failed⁴ and had to retire. He received the title of Khān Daurān and the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and, in accordance with orders, made over⁵ the fort to Murtadā Khān and returned to Mālwa.

When in the 7th year Prince Muḥammad Shujā' was appointed to take Parēnda, Nasirī Khān was appointed to accompany him. One day when the enemy had pressed upon Khān-Khānān at the time of foraging⁶

¹ Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 33

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 512, Elliot, VII, p. 38

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 532, Elliot, VII, p. 42

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 533. Khān Daurān made frequent sallies

⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 534

⁶ *Naubat-i gahī* means turn of foraging. Each commander appointed had to take his turn in looking after the foraging. *Bādshāhnāma* makes a mistake in adding the pronoun as in *naubat-i gahī : ao būd* it was his turn for foraging. *Gahī* here means forage or a party of foragers. Details are given in *Bādshāhnāma*.

(*naubat-i-gahī*) and it was leading almost to a big defeat, Khān Daurān perceived the position and came up quickly and forced the army which was behind Khān Khūnān on to the forces on his right wing, and then made both bodies join in with the force in front of Khān-Khūnān. He also rescued the wounded, and joined Khān-Khūnān. On this success the enemy fled, and this great ¹ deed was the cause of Khān Daurān's receiving a great reception at the Court. When Mahābat Khān died, Bālāghāt was made over to Khān Zamān (his son), and the Pāyānghāt—which included the whole of Khāndēsh and much of Berār—was made over to Khān Daurān at a revenue of 92 kroris of *dāms*. An order was also given that Sarkār Bijāgarh, Sarkār Nadarbār ² and that part of Sarkār Hānda, which was on the other side of the Narbadā, should be regarded as belonging to Khāndēsh. When ³ Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Singh Bundēla who, with his father's contingent, was with Khān Zamān in Bālāghāt, at a hint from his father, who was meditating rebellion in his wretched country, fled to his home, Khān Daurān heard of it and came out of Burhānpūr to pursue him. He came up with him at Ashta ⁴ in the Mālwa *Sūba*, and nearly caught him. Bikramājīt fled wounded into the difficult jungles and joined his father in Dhāmūnī. Khān Daurān waited for orders in Mālwa, and when the government of Mālwa was entrusted to him, he was sent to uproot this plant of disaffection. In conjunction with 'Abdullāh Khān he displayed great energy in the pursuit and completed the task. In the 9th year he sent the heads of Jujhār and his son to the Court ⁵, and as a reward received the title of Bahādur. In the same year, when Shāh Jahān came to visit the fort of Daulatābād, Khān Daurān with Rāja Jai Singh and other Rājputs as a vanguard, and Mubārīz Khān Nizāzī and other Afghāns as the rearguard was appointed to take the forts of Ūdgīr, and Āūsa, and to ravage the territories of Bijāpūr and Gōlconda. He destroyed every cultivation and habitation to within twelve *fos* of Bijāpūr, and repeatedly punished Bahlūl Khān Mivānah and Khairiyat Khān Hab-hī. When 'Adil Shāh trod with humility the path of obedience, Khān Daurān withdrew his hand from devastating his territory and went off towards Ūdgīr. After a siege of three months and odd days on 8 Jumāda I, 1046 A H (28 September, 1636 A D) he captured this strong place from Sidi Miftāh ⁶ and addressed himself to the siege of Āūsa. Bhōjrāj ⁷ the governor after a struggle surrendered the fort, and after then an order was passed that the elephant Gajmōtī (Pearl of elephants)—which was the finest elephant with Qutb-ul-Mulk—should be taken possession of. He

I, pt 2, p 37, etc, and in Khūfī Khān, I, p 396, etc. After Mahābat Khān arrived at Parēnda a foraging party was sent out. The Deccanīs came out to attack it and Mahābat Khān first sent his sons and then went himself to defend the party. The Deccanīs lured him on to their main body by pretending to fly and then hemmed him in. He would have been cut off but for Khān Daurān's help.

¹ *Kār dastbasta* literally an affair that sent one to his prayers.

² Nadarbār or Nadhrbār of Text is the *Sarār of Nazarbār* of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp 195, note 1, 208, 251, note 1. It was in Mālwa, and is the modern Nandurbār in Western Khāndēsh, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, pp 362, 363.

³ Elliot, VII, p 47.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 96.

⁵ *Id*, pp 110-116. Also for the whole campaign see Banarasi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 86-89.

⁶ An Abyssinian, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 218.

⁷ *Id*, p 220, and Banarasi Prasad, *loc cit*, p 147.

proceeded to Kōtgīr¹—which was on the boundary of his kingdom, and by his efforts got hold of the elephant and also a lac of rupees as tribute and then came to the frontiers of Dēvgarh. He took Kīlchar and Aṣhta—which are dependencies of Kararmāndgāon² in Berār—from the possession of the powerful Gōnds³, and took Nāgpur after a siege of some days. Kūkiyā⁴ the Rāja of Dēvgarh paid a tribute of 1,50,000 rupees and 170 elephants and regained possession of Nāgpur.

In the⁵ 10th year Khān Daurān came to the Court and presented 200 elephants worth ten lacs of rupees together with eight lacs of rupees in cash—which the ruler of Gōndwāna, and other landowners had tendered, partly as tribute to the King, and partly as a present to himself, together with the elephant Gajmōti—which was valued at one lac of rupees, and whose name was changed to *Pādshāh Pasand* (Approved by the King)—with golden trappings (of the elephant) which were prepared by Khān Daurān at his own expense at a cost of one lac of rupees. As his loyalty and courage were conspicuous, and he had in a short time presented a *pēshkash*, such as none of the great officers had collected at one time, he received⁶ various marks of favour and was given the title of Nasrat Jang and a *manṣab* of 6,000 with 6,000 horse *dū aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two-horse and three-horse)—the allowance (*tanḵhvāh*) for which was 10 kror, 80 lacs of *dāms* for twelve months of the year which came to 27 lacs of rupees,—and also the *tanḵhvāh* of pargana Shujā'atpur⁷ in the crown-lands. When in the 17th year Prince Muhammad Aurangzib came from the Deccan on the occasion of inquiring after the health of the Bēgam⁸ Sāhibā, he having regard to various proceedings of his in the Deccan, which were repugnant to Shāh Jahān, withdrew his hand from worldly affairs and went into retirement⁹, before his father should show marks of displeasure. This causeless proceeding increased Shāh Jahān's vexation and he made over the government of the Deccan to Nasrat Jang who was in charge of Mālwa. He received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and a present of one kror of *dāms* which formed the highest limit of advancement for officers.

They say that Khān Daurān during his government of the Deccan made a new world by his innovations. Many *dēshmukhs* and *dēshpāndās* were beaten with mallets (*mekh lōb zada*) and sent to annihilation. Also in order to develop the country he consolidated the *tanḵhvāhs* of the *manṣabdārs* who held fiefs in various places. He also visited all the forts, and made full arrangements for the garrisons (*akshām*) and their provisions. He sent to the Court nearly a kror of rupees of Govern-

¹ Kōmgīr, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 120.

² Kararmāndgāon is the Māndgāon Karar in Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II p. 233.

³⁻⁵ See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 233, 246.

⁶ See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 247.

⁷ In Sarkār Sūrangpur, vide Jarrett *op. cit.*, p. 201, wrongly printed as Shujā'atpur.

⁸ Jahān Arā the daughter of Shāh Jahān was badly burnt in March 1644 and was confined to bed for 4 months, see Banarsi Prasad, *loc. cit.*, p. 316, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66.

⁹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 376 and Khāfi Khān, I, p. 600. Also Elliot, VII, p. 19. Aurangzib was restored to favour and office at the request of his sister Khāfi Bān. I, p. 606, also Banarsi Prasad *op. cit.*, p. 316 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.* pp. 66-68.

ment treasure which was in the forts and crown-parganas so that the world might see that whereas (hitherto) money was always sent from the Court, but he in his *Sūbadārī* was sending money from the Deccan. When he was satisfied with the settlement he had made of the country, he set himself to take Bijāpūr. In the 18th year he was summoned to the Court for some deliberation about administration. He accompanied the Emperor to Kashmīr, and then took leave and came to Lāhōre. He halted two *los* from the city. At the ¹ end of the night he was asleep. By a strange fate a Brahman boy of Kashmīr whom he had converted to Islām and enrolled among his servants struck him a severe blow in the belly with a dagger. They say that it took seventeen stitches to sew it up. He did not knit an eyebrow, and conversed with Qulīj Khān. He was in possession of his senses for one day, and divided his money and goods among his children, and left the balance for the exchequer. He wrote a petition, in accordance with these dispositions, with his own hand and sent it to the Court. He died on the night of 7 Jumāda I, 1055 A H (21 June, 1645 A D). Shāh Jahān gave to every one of his children more than was bequeathed in the will, and 60 lacs of the surplus reverted to Government. As his ancestors were buried at Gwāliyār he was buried there ².

Khān Daurān never slackened in the service of the Emperor, and was free from covetousness and avarice in this respect. He spent three watches of the day and one watch of the night in government service. He left nothing to others, but did all the work himself. But he was severe to the subject, and behaved with harshness and oppression to God's creatures. It was the arrow of the sighs of the oppressed that finished him. On the day that the news of his death reached Burhānpūr there was no stock of sugar or sweetmeats in the shops which the people did not give away in thanksgiving. Most of the fine buildings in Burhānpūr were made during his time. Mandavī Zamābād ³ on the bank of the Tāptī was built by him. From Sarōnj to Burhānpūr he put up *serā'is* at every tenth *los*. His sons Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Maḥmūd ⁴ obtained after their father's death the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. 'Abd-un-Nabī, who was young, received a *manṣab* of 500.

KHĀN JAHĀN BAHĀDUR ZAFAR JANG KŌKALTĀSH

(Vol I, pp 798-813)

His name was Mīr Malik Husain. His father was Mīr Abūl Ma'ālī Khawāfī who was a Saiyid known for his virtue and piety. He lived like a darvish. As his honoured wife suckled Prince Aurangzīb, his sons Mīr Muzaffar Husain and Mīr Malik Husain were raised to suitable ranks and became Amīrs. The first, as his biography shows, was reared in the presence of Shāh Jahān. The second from his early years was

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 426. *Khāfī Khān*, I, p 610.

² According to Muhammad Latif, *History of Lahore*, p 168, his tomb is at Chintgarh, 2½ miles east of Lahore.

³ Apparently this is the garden 'Ālam Ārāī, celebrated as the residence of Zai-nābadī, Aurangzīb's favourite, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, p 790.

⁴ Later Khān Daurān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp 782-785, Translation, ante, pp 774, 775.

brought up in the Prince's (Aurangzib's) service, and was an intimate courtier and was respected. In the 27th year he was displeased with the Prince's service and left him, and came from the Deccan with the intention of serving the King. Shāh Jahān gave him the rank of 700 with 100 horse, but as the Prince did not like his departure, he in the 30th year begged his father to give him the *faujdārī* of Hōshangābād Handia. In this way he was drawn by favour into the Deccan. In the 31st year when the Prince, after taking the fort of Bīdar addressed himself to the taking of Kalyān, he was sent to take the fort of Naulanka¹. After he arrived at the spot, though the besieged endeavoured to defend it, he succeeded in its capture. He seized all the defenders of the fort as also the horses and arms, and sent them to the Prince. When the Prince raised the standards of world-conquest and set out from Burhānpūr towards Āgra he gave him the title of Bahādur Khān. As the Prince was convinced of his bravery he was put into the van in the battle with Jaswant Singh². In the battle with Dārā Shikōh³ he had command of the right wing of the reserve. In his zeal he advanced as far as the vanguard. Suddenly Rustam Khān Deccanī with the whole force of the left wing encountered him. Bahādur Khān fought with skill and bravery, but was wounded, and when Aurangzib's army advanced full of glory from Āgra to the Capital (Delhī), he received an increase of 1,000 with 500 horse and was sent in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh who had gone to Lāhōre to retrieve the position. The Khān by his alacrity crossed the Sutlej, the bank of which the enemy had fortified and which could not be crossed easily. He after crossing attacked the enemy and put them to flight. Nor could Dārā Shikōh maintain himself in Lāhōre. He fled and went to Bhakkar. Bahādur Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān followed him as far as Multān. In the battle of Khajūhā (north of Allahābād) with Shujā', Bahādur Khān had charge of the *iltmish* and fought bravely. When Dārā Shikōh came to Cutch by way of Bhakkar, he after crossing the Indus went to Malik Jiwan (of⁴) Dhādhār on account of his former acquaintance with him, and after resting from his fatigues for a few days went off with the intention of going to Qandahār, but that unrighteous landowner saw his selfish advantage in seizing him, and blocked his path and made him prisoner. He wrote the account of this to Bahādur Khān who quickly came there, and after seizing Dārā Shikōh went off rapidly to the Court *via* Bhakkar, along with Rāja Jai Singh. On 16⁵ Dhū'l Hījja of the 2nd year, he reached the Capital and did homage. On that day⁶ Dārā Shikōh and his son Siphir Shikōh were placed in an open

¹ *Ālamgīrnāma*, pp 1008, 1009

² Battle of Dharmat, 25th April, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp 359-362

³ Battle of Sāmūgarh, 8th June, 1658—*vide* Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 376-400

⁴ Dadar in Kach Gandava, Elliot, VII, p 244, note. Jiwan was an Afghān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 539-540

⁵ *Ālamgīrnāma*, p 431. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, p 541, states that they arrived outside Delhi on 23rd August, 1659 Old Style or 2nd September New Style

⁶ *Ālamgīrnāma*, p 431 on Tuesday the 20th corresponding to 17 Shahrīyār. The *anruz* of the Text may mean next day, but even then it does not agree with the *Ālamgīrnāma*, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p 542, Dārā was paraded through Delhi on 29th August Old Style or 8th September New Style

¹ *Hamqir nāma*, p. 47. In the Khawwaspūrā quarter. The rūz dāwam of the Text may mean two days afterwards. Dārā was put to death on the eve of Thursday the 22nd Dhul Hijja. *Hamqir nāma*, p. 472. But Khāfi Khān, II, p. 87 says Dārā was put to death on the last day of the month. The *Maāthir ul Hamqir*, p. 27 also gives Thursday eve as the date of death. The English date according to Sir Isaknath Sarkar, p. 548 is 30th August Old Style or 9th September New Style. Munier, I, p. 356, puts the death into October.

² A Rajpūt clan ~ the Chūhāns are Bachgōtis. See * *Hamqir nāma*, p. 451. The occurrence was in the 2nd year of the reign.

³ There is surely some mistake here. See *Maāthir ul Umarā*, Text II, p. 64, and Beveridge's translation, p. 459, where Dārā is described as entering the royal service in the 18th year, yet the age is given as four in all the MSS.

long service and good performances were over and above this, he after some time, in the 21st year, was restored ¹ to his rank and titles, etc, and *the water which had departed returned to its old channel* When in the 22nd year Mahārāja Jaswant died and left no heir or representative, Khān Jahān ² was appointed to take possession of his property The royal standards moved to Ajmēr, and the Khān swiftly went off to Jōdhpūr—which was the capital of Jaswant's country—and set about destroying the idol temples He brought in several cartloads of idols—many of which were adorned with gold and silver After the King returned to the Capital, they were, by the King's order, thrown into the *Jilaukhāna* (place for keeping carriages, etc) of the *Darbār* and under the ³ steps of the Jahānnumā mosque and for a long time were trodden under the feet of comers and goers till no trace of them was left But the district was not settled, as it should have been The commotion of the Rājputs and the contumacy of the Rānā came to a head, and it ended in a royal expedition Khān Jahān went off from Chittōr to govern the Deccan, leaving Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam there He in the height of the rains addressed ⁴ himself to the siege of the fort of Sālhēr—which was the loftiest fortress in Baglāna, and had come into the possession of the enemy,—but after enduring much suffering he had to withdraw without success, and came to Aurangābād Mir Muhammad Ridā Lāhōrī the commentator on the *Maḥnavī Ma'navī* was with him as a *manṣabdār* He described the expedition in verse, and said with reference to the mud and mire

Verse

The helpless bullock became a bullock ⁵ of the earth

In the same ⁶ year, Muharram 1091 A H (February, 1680 A D) Sambhā Siwā'ī marched 35 *kos* at night and fell, without warning, upon Bahādurpūra—which was a populous place two *kos* from Burhānpūr—and plundered it Kūkār Khān the *Nāyab* of Khān Zamān, the governor of Burhānpūr, shut himself up in the city with a few men, and the robber set fire at his ease to important quarters of the city and reduced them to ashes Many noble families were dishonoured, some to guard their honour killed their wives and themselves were killed When Khān

¹ *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 168

² *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 172 Jaswant left a widow and two sons, according to Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn), p 623 According to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn), II, p 44, he only left a pregnant queen who afterwards became the mother of Ajit The *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp 176, 177, states that Jaswant left two pregnant wives and that both were delivered of sons in Lāhōre One of the sons died shortly afterwards—see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, III, pp 325–330

³ The Text is not correct and the variant agrees with *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p 175, from where the passage is taken The idols were thrown into two places—in the *Darbār i Jilaukhāna* and under the steps of the Chief Mosque Aurangzib treated the idols from Mathurā in the same way

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, p 270 Elliot, VII, p 304

⁵ A pun on *Gāo zamān*, the bull Līvūnān which supports the earth, see Prashad, B, *Qānūn Humāyūnī*, p 11, note 1

⁶ Khāfi Khān, II, p 272 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, IV, p 244 *et seq* The date appears to be incorrect, it was in the middle of February, 1681, that this attack by Sambhājī was launched after his coronation, see Kincaid and Parasnis—*A History of Maratha People*, p 119

Jahān heard of this, he hurried from Aurangābād, and in one night and day reached the pass of Fardāpūr¹ which is 32 *kos* distant. There he occupied four watches in crossing the pass. It was said that this inconsiderate delay occurred on account of the arrival of Sambhā's agent and the promise of a large sum of money. By this delay Sambhā got away with everything that he could carry away, together with all his prisoners whom he took by way of Chōpra to the fort of Sālher². Khān Jahān who ought to have gone by a cross-road and come up with him, went straight by the right to Burhānpūr³. This neglect confirmed men's suspicions and was the cause of a fresh alienation of the Emperor's affection from him. An order of censure was sent to him, and in that year the propositions⁴ he had made about ranks and increase were entirely rejected. By chance, in the same period Prince Muḥammad Akbar fled towards the Deccan in the 24th year. Orders were sent to all the officers to stop Akbar wherever he appeared. If possible, they were to take him alive, otherwise they were to kill him. As he was passing near the hills, of Sultānpur, Khān Jahān, who showed himself as very zealous to seize him and had come near him, drew rein until Akbar passed the hills of Baglāna and with the help of the Bhils and Kōlis came to Rāhīri and stayed for some days under Sambhā's protection. Though the news-writers kept this back, yet Mīr Nūr Ullāh the son of Mīr Asad Ullāh the *faujdār* of Tālnēr⁵ who was an audacious man and who relied upon his being a Khānazād (house-born one) and on his influence, communicated all the details (to the Emperor), and increased the store (of displeasure) in the Emperor's heart, and the craft and deceit of Khān Jahān became apparent to all.

As the inflicting of punishment on Sambhā and the chastisement of Akbar both demanded the attention of the Emperor, he, in the 25th year made the Deccan his residence. Khān Jahān was appointed to conquer the fort of Rāmsij⁶ which appertained to Gulshanābād (near Junair). But though he made great efforts, he did not succeed on account of the watchfulness and ability of the governor of the fort who was an experienced Mahratta. He was obliged to retire, and on the day of his march he set fire to the materials of the batteries which were composed of wood, etc., of which a great quantity had been collected. The garrison came out on the battlements in great mirth beat their great and small drums and made ribald remarks. When he came within three *kos* of Aurangābād he was gratified by the receipt of a dress of honour, and was ordered to proceed to Bidar without coming to pay his respects. He was to take up his quarters there and to pursue Akbar

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 274

² Sālher in Khāfi Khān, where it is stated that he should have turned to the left, but instead went to the right

³ Idalabād in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 275

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II p. 275, Elliot, VII p. 308. In Elliot the passage is translated as— 'In his anger he took away from Khān-Jahān all the increased honours and emoluments he had conferred upon him in that year.' But what Khāfi Khān says is that contrary to the former practice, all Khān Jahān's recommendations about *mansabs* and their increases were disallowed. Apparently Khān Jahān had been in the habit of submitting lists for promotions and they had hitherto been passed.

⁵ In the text Thānēsār, but really Tālnēr or Thālnēr. See Khāfi Khān II p. 299. It is in Khāndēsh "east of Nandurbār", Elliot VII p. 362

⁶ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 282, etc

whenever he got any news of his movements. When Akbar came away from Sambhā and embarked on a vessel with the intention of going to Persia, Khān Jahān proceeded to chastise the brigands, and in the 27th year attacked them when they were at a distance of thirty *kos*. By his vigorous proceedings their bands, which had been collected on the bank of the Kishnā, were broken up, many of the infidels were put to the sword and their property was plundered. In reward for this service he received a complimentary *farmān* and his sons Muzaffar Khān, Nasirī Khān, Muḥammad Samī' and Muḥammad Baqā received respectively the titles of Himmat Khān, Sipahdār Khān, Nasirī Khān and Muzaffar Khān, while his brother's son and son-in-law Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khān was granted the title of Ṣafdar Khān.

When Prince Muḥammad A'zam Shāh proceeded to the siege of Bijāpūr, Khān Jahān was ordered to take up his quarters at the *thāna* of Aindī¹ in order to send supplies to the Prince's camp. From there he was appointed in the end of the 28th year to accompany the Prince who had been sent off to chastise Abūl Hasan of Haidarābād. He went ahead of the Prince with 10,000 horse, and fought severe battles with Khalīl Ullāh Khān, the head of the army and with Husainī Bēg 'Alī Mardān Khān, who with 30,000 horse was presumptuously opposing the imperialist forces. One day the drums and trumpets sounded at early dawn, and for three *pahars* there was a hot market of warfare. The gallant men passed from guns and bullets to fighting with daggers and there were heaps of slain on both sides. In that battle his son Himmat Khān was hard pressed, and though he sent a message to his father for help, the latter was so hemmed in by the enemy who surrounded him like a halo that he could not move a step. At this time Parab² Khān, who was called *Hāt Pathar* (the stone-hand), whose stone-like hand was dealing bullets around, urged on his horse, and lance in hand, came in front of Khān Jahān's elephant and cried out: Where is the leader? and wanted to pierce him with his lance. Khān Jahān shouted: I am the leader, and without giving him time to use his javelin³, cast him to the ground with an arrow. At last the predominance of the enemy was such that Khān Jahān was nearly being defeated. Suddenly Aurangzib's good fortune displayed itself in another form, a raging elephant came among the enemy from the King's side and caused their horses to rear up. Two or three leading men were overthrown, and the Haidarābād troops took to flight. They were driven off in spite of repeated onsets.

Verse

Shud 4 fath bajang Haidarābād

(Haidarābād was conquered in battle, 1097 A H, 1686 A D)

¹ Pargana Indī, Khāfi Khān, II, p. 317

² Khāfi Khān, II, p. 297, Bari or Parī Khān. His sobriquet is given as *Hāt Bhatta*.

³ The word in Khāfi Khān is *blāla*.

⁴ The *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri* puts the victory in 1096, see editor's note on p. 268, but the chronogram given there yields 1097. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 300, says that Aurangzib was very angry with him for not following up his victory, and that in writing to him he quoted a line of poetry which has become proverbial when any untoward event has been produced.

Verse

O breeze of the Morn, all this is thy work

is the chronogram of this battle, and of the ruler's shutting himself up in the fort of Gōlconda. As in reality the Prince and Khān Jahān did not wish to destroy Abūl Hasan, and their first and foremost desire was that there should be peace, and that Aurangzib should forgive his offences, though his ignorant officers urged him on to battle, they restrained themselves, and ignored the attacking and plundering (of the city). This view increased the Emperor's displeasure, and he summoned Khān Jahān to his Presence. As he had been the King's playmate and in addition had the relationship of fosterage—which is a strong tie—and was also proud of his skill and knowledge of affairs—especially in Deccanī matters which, he thought, could not get on without him—and moreover he had no control over his tongue or his hands, he behaved insolently in the Presence, and in the King's absence said improper things in the *Dīān*, and in administrative matters did without hesitation whatever he wanted to do. If an order was received from the King, he did not carry it out. For instance, forbidden¹ things, which were prohibited by the King, were in common use in his camp. One day there was a great disturbance between his men and Mu'azzam Khān Safavī² in the *Jilaukhāna* (portico) about the leaving of a palanquin. Khān Jahān was allowed to leave so that he might restrain his men. When he came out, he, in his insolence, told his men to go and loot Mu'azzam Khān's bāzār. This added to the King's displeasure, and he became more vexed with him than ever. He resolved to break his presumption and whenever he was appointed to any province he was removed before he could benefit by the harvest, and all his financial³ arrangements were upset.

In fine, in the end of the 29th year he was sent⁴ off to punish the Jāts and the sedition-mongers of the Āgra province, and received a present of two kros of *dāms*. With the exception of Himmāt Khān, who was appointed to manage the affair of Bijāpūr, his sons were sent with him. As that difficult task could not be accomplished without a large army and much effort, Prince Bīdār Bakht the eldest son of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh was also appointed to this expedition. Afterwards by the excellent exertions of the Prince, and the management of Khān Jahān, Rājā Rām Jāt the leader of the rebels was killed by a bullet in 1099 A H (1688 A D). The Prince destroyed Sansanī and other places which had been founded by Rājā Rām and became the controller of that country. Khān Jahān was sent⁵ to the government of Bengāl, and in the 23rd year was made governor of Allahābād. In the 34th year he was made governor of the Panjāb. In the 37th year he was summoned to the Court from Lāhōre. After that he did not go anywhere else away from the Court, till

¹ Vice and immorality, *vide* Khāfi Khān, II, p. 299

² Father-in-law of Prince Kām Baksh, *vide* Khāfi Khān, II, p. 316

³ *Sanbandī*, presumably it is *san-bandi* or the arrangements for the year, but it may be a clerical error for *sibandī* which is given as a variant. It is the Anglo-Indian *Sebundy*, and means militia, and also the expenses connected therewith. The passage in the Text is taken from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 395, who speaks of the heavy expenses in travelling which the Khān Jahān had to incur on account of his being frequently moved about. There is also a Deccanī word *sambandī* or *sambandhī*, meaning relationship and perhaps this is the word here meant.

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 316. Cf. Elliot, VII, p. 522. Sansanī is sixteen miles N W of Bharatpūr. Irvine in *Journal As Soc Bengal* for 1904, p. 289, states that Rājā Rām was killed in July 1688.

⁵ But he never reached there.

in the 41st year, on 19 Jumāda I, 1109 A H (23rd November, 1697 A D) he died in the camp of Islāmābād Brahmapūr¹ As his illness lasted a long time, Aurangzib at the time of returning from Shōlāpūr visited his quarters and inquired after his health As he was confined to bed, he could not rise, and lamented saying as he could not have the honour of kissing the feet, he wished that he had died on the field of battle The King replied that he had spent his whole life in faithful service and devotion, and did he at this² age still have a wish left? (He desired that) his bier should be conveyed to the town of Nakōdar³ in the Dūāba of the Panjāb as his family tomb was there The accounts of his sons Himmat Khān and Sipahdār Khān have been given separately (Text III, pp 949-951) His other sons were not so distinguished Nasirī Khān was a mad man and without dignity. His youngest son Abūl Fath lived into the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh He spent his days in affliction

Khān Jahān⁴ Bahādur, the Commander-in-chief was the central figure in the government He was unequalled among the nobility for his grandeur, lofty buildings and splendid possessions He was polite and gracious and was endowed⁵ with many good qualities His receptions (*mahfils*) were superb Scarcely anyone but he could express an opinion He spoke openly what he wanted, and others could only answer by assent He did not like much talking The chief things discussed in his company were prose and poetry, swords, jewels, horses, elephants and aphrodisiacs⁶ He was a good judge of physiognomy One day, when he was governor of the Deccan, he said to Amānat Khān Mirak Mu'in-ud-Dīn the great grandfather of the writer of these lines who at that time was the chief *Divān* of the Deccan 'The King at the time of granting me leave said "If you hear that Muḥammad Mu'azzam intends to rebel, accept the statement, even though he takes no step towards doing so, but if such a report be spread about Muḥammad A'zam, beware of crediting it whatever he may do, and Muḥammad Akbar is a child" But (said Khān Bahādur) from my knowledge of physiognomy I can say that none but he will tread this wrong path' At that time there was not the least sign of Akbar's becoming a leader, nor any report of it After six months this untimely flower blossomed, and the discernment of Khān Jahān proved to be in accordance with facts His haughtiness and domineering spirit brought him into collision with a King like Aurangzib who trusted to his own genius and did not have regard for others Hence⁷ it was that at last he was without

¹ Brahmapūrī later named Islāmpūrī not Islāmābād as in Text, see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 381, etc., and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, p 6 It was in the Shōlāpūr District on the southern bank of the Bhīma river

² The text has 'umr, age, but the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 390, has *amr* matter, viz, the matter or point of life-devotion This reading seems preferable

³ Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 317 In Sarkār Dūāba Bet Jālandhar Khāfi Khān, II, p 448, puts Khān Jahān's death into the 39th year, 1106, instead of the 41st

⁴ Taken from *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 390

⁵ In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 390, it is *mustajama'-i-marātib i bīrr o ihsān*, which appears to be more appropriate

⁶ *Adwīya i-mubahhī*, but *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 390, has *adwīya i-mushlahī* which perhaps means only carminatives or tonics

⁷ Khāfi Khān, II, p 448

a *jāgīr* or employment and was kept in the Presence under surveillance. To his disgust ¹ some of the new *Khānazāds* rose into fame for military service. For instance Tahawwur Khān, son of Salābat Khān and Jān Nīthār Khān Khwāja Abūl Makūrīm were sent off at this time to put down Santā the brigand and had a battle ². The whole army and park of the artillery were plundered and Jān Nīthār Khān escaped half dead. Tahawwur Khān was wounded, and flung himself among the dead ³ and so had a second life. When this occurrence was reported to the King, he said "All these happenings are due to Destiny, and are not in any one's power". When Khān Jahān heard this remark he said, "Good, there'll be no revising ⁴ of reports in heaven, to give and then take away (praise). In my long leadership I never had a defeat". False stories about him and tales, which reason cannot accept and which belong to the class of romances, are well known and are on men's lips ⁵. Although there can be no question about the merits and great qualities of Khān Jahān, for they followed close upon one another, yet a just review must admit that there was a strain of levity in him. How could it be otherwise. He advanced from 700, all at once to 5,000, without passing through the intermediate stages. But it was strange that such a King as Aurangzib, who was not wanting in wrath and pride, should have entertained a servant with such unrestrained presumption.

In the end ⁶ of his days he showed the King in his hall of justice a small, round porcelain water-pot (*āftāba*) and said it had belonged to Moses—Peace be upon him! Aurangzib looked at it and gave it to the Princes Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Mu'azzam. There were two lines resembling some writing engraved on the neck of the vessel. The Princes said "This should be Hebrew". Bahādur examined the letters and said, "I know nothing about its being Hebrew—Ebrew—('Ibrānī mabrānī), some vendor put these marks on it". The King said "They are letters, the porcelain is not bad".

KHĀN JAHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol I, pp 758-766)

He was Sayyid Muẓaffar Khān, one of the Tihānpūrī⁷ Sayyids. His name was Abūl Muẓaffar. In the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign

¹⁻³ Khāfi Khān, II, p 417

⁴ The story comes apparently from Khāfi Khān, II, pp 417, 418, but if so, the author of the *Maāthir ul-Umarā* has not quoted it correctly. According to Khāfi Khān, Khān Jahān did not say that he never had a defeat, and it is not likely that he would say so, for it would not have been correct. What he said was—What is given in heaven, is given once for all (there is no revision there). And then Khāfi Khān explains this as meaning that he, Khān Jahān, had never been defeated. But he does not put these vaunting words into his mouth.

⁵ Probably this is an allusion to the romantic account of the battle from Khāfi Khān, II, p 297.

⁶ The story is from *Maāthir ul-Ālamgīrī*, p 371. The text has *Chinīl bad nēst* which does not seem intelligible. In the text of *Maāthir ul-Ālamgīrī* we have *Chinīl 1 bad nēst*—the bit of China is not bad. A note to the text of the *Maāthir ul-Umarā* says that several MSS have *Khushk*. *Khushk āwardan* means to keep silence, and perhaps what Aurangzib said was. When such language is used, silence is best.

⁷ The chief town of the Tihānpūrī Sayyids was Jānsath, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 428-430.

when Prince Sultān Khurram was sent to the Deccan, he in the battle with the Deccanīs fought bravely and was wounded and fell on the field. His military aptitude became impressed on the Prince. When the Prince chose to separate himself from his respected father, and came to the Deccan, and when the crossing of the Narbādā by Mahābat Khān and Prince Sultān Parvīz had made it impossible for the Prince to stay in Burhānpūr, he went off by Sikākōl (Chicacole) belonging to Qutb-ul-Mulk's territory towards Bengāl, and there fought a battle with Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang¹. Abūl Muzaffar distinguished himself in the battle, and all the time during separation, was attached to the Prince's stirrups. He served well and showed devotion and so gained a place in the Prince's heart. When the Prince ascended the throne he, in the first year, gave Abūl Muzaffar the rank² of 4,000 Dhāt with 3,000 horse and a flag and drums, and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and the present of a lac of rupees. He appointed him as the governor of the fort of Gwālyār, and placed its dependencies in his fief. In the same year he was sent with Mahābat Khān to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had broken out into rebellion. On the representation of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān, his offences were overlooked, and the royal Divāns left to him such portion of the territory in his possession as corresponded to the amount³ of his *mansab* and assigned the excess of his *jāgīr* to Abūl Muzaffar and other officers. In the 2nd year when Khān Jahān Lōdī, on account of a suspicion which had arisen in his mind, fled from the Capital, Abūl Muzaffar was appointed, along with Khawāja Abūl Husan Turbatī, to pursue him. In his alacrity he went off that same night without waiting for his leader and at six *gharis* of the day came up with Khān Jahān Lōdī on the banks of the Chambal near Dhōlpūr, and faced him bravely. Muhammad Shafī' his grandson and nineteen of the Sayyids of Bārah were killed, and fifty of his companions were wounded. When this was reported to the King, Abūl Muzaffar received an increase of 1,000 horse and a steed from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant from the special herd. In the third year he received a *Khil'at*, a decorated dagger and a horse from the special stables with a gilded saddle and an elephant with gilded trappings and was appointed to the vanguard of the force which had been placed under A'zam Khān for the chastisement of Khān Jahān Lōdī⁴. Later⁵, when it was heard that the Khān was unable to ride on account of a swelling above the navel, Jagjīvan, the surgeon, was directed to go and treat him, and the Khān was told to return to the Court after convalescence. Inasmuch as the surgeon on account of the amount of matter had to open the swelling and much pus had been removed, the Khān waited for some time for the wound to heal and then came to the Court. The appreciative Sovereign gave him a *Khil'at* and an adorned dagger with *phūl katāra*⁶ and an increase

¹ See *Tūzūk-ı-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation), II, p. 209, 'Amal Ṣāḫih, I, pp. 180-184, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 47-49.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 117.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 255. His *mansab* was of 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

⁴ For the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lōdī, see Banarsi Prasad, *op cit*, pp. 66-79.

⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 316.

⁶ *Katāra* is an Indian word for a dagger. *Phūl*, i.e. flower, is a word used for embroidery, and *phūl katāra* probably means a decorated dagger. See *Bādshāhnāma*, *loc cit*.

of 1,000 *Dhāt* so that he had the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was granted a horse with a gilded saddle from the special stables

When the territory of Nizām Shāh was trodden under the feet of the royal armies, Khān Jahān Lōdī saw it was difficult to remain there and went off to Mālwa. Abūl Muzaḥḥār, who was famed for bravery, and noble lineage, received a special *Khil'at*, and a sword, and a *Qipchāq* horse from the special stables and was sent to pursue him. As 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur was also ordered to pursue him with a separate force, the order was passed that if 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur should come to the borders, both armies should join up and uproot the thornbush of sedition. Sayyid Muzaḥḥār Khān quickly crossed the Narbadā at the Akbarpūr ferry and sent out his scouts. At the station of the village of Tālgāon in Mālwa 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur joined him, and then they learnt at the village of Nīmī¹ belonging to the country of Bāndhū—which is 15 kos from Sidiṇḍa and 30 from Allahābād—that Khān Jahān had taken to flight after the contest had failed. The gallant men did not desist from pursuit and after two days they came up with him, and an engagement took place. He was killed in the encounter with the vanguard of Sayyid Muzaḥḥār Khān and Sayyid Mākhan the son of Sayyid

'Abdullāh, the daughter's son of Sayyid Muzaḥḥār Khān and 27 others attained martyrdom. After that Sayyid Muzaḥḥār Khān came to the Court and received an increase of 1,000 horse and was raised to the rank of 5,000 *Dhāt o sawār* and received the title of Khān Jahān. In the 4th year, he and his following consisting of 1,000 horse *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* (two horse and three horse) was sent off with Yamīn-ud-Daula to chastise 'Adil Khān of Bijāpūr. In the 5th year he waited on the King and received an increase of 1,000 horse, *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa*. In the 6th year he was granted a similar rise of rank. Afterwards he was sent off with Prince Muḥammad Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda. He did good service on this occasion, and when the taking of the fort was delayed, the Prince, in accordance with the orders of Shāh Jahān, came to the Court, and Sayyid Khān Jahān quickly arrived and did homage near Āgra. In the 8th year an addition was made of *dū-aspa* and *sih-aspa* troopers to his contingent, and in the same year he was appointed with other officers to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla who had rebelled. When Jujhār Singh had after a struggle proceeded to Dēogarh—which was near Berār—and 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang and Khān Daurān were ordered to pursue him, Sayyid Khān Jahān halted in accordance with the commands to settle the conquered country and to search for the treasures hidden near Chūrāgarh. After that he came to the Court when Shāh Jahān intended to visit Daulatābad and after crossing the Narbadā had encamped on its bank. He received a special *Khil'at* with a gold embroidered *chārqab*, a decorated dagger with a *phul-katāra*, a decorated scimitar, and a lac of rupees in cash. In the 9th year he received a special *Khil'at*, a special scimitar and a horse from the special stables and was sent off with a posse of officers to chastise 'Adil Shāh Bijāpūrī. He came from Bīr to Dhārwar and leaving his baggage there proceeded to Shōlāpūr. On the way he sent men and took Sarādhūn. He also attacked the fief of Rihān of Shōlāpūr and established a station (*thāna*)

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 348. See also Banarsī Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79.

at the town of Dhārāsīn¹. On several occasions he fought with the Bijāpūrīs. The said Khān displayed personal valour and every time inflicted disastrous defeat upon them.

They say that one day Randaula² Bijāpūrī was wounded and fell from his horse but one of his companions brought him a horse and took him off the field. After portions of the Bijāpūr territory had been devastated, and the rainy season had commenced the Khān turned back in order to go into quarters and came to Dhārwar. Afterwards, when 'Ādil Khān came to terms and submitted, the said Khān, in accordance with orders returned to the Court. When in the end of the same year the King resolved to go to the Capital, the charge of the four provinces of the Deccan, that is, Khāndēsh, Berār, parts of Telugānī, and some of Nizām-ul-Mulk's territory was made over to Prince, Sayyid Khān Jahān received a special *Khil'at*, and was ordered, during the absence of the Khān Zamān at the sieges of Junair, etc., to remain in attendance on the Prince. In the 10th year he came to the Court and was sent to Gwālvār—which formed a part of his fief. In the 11th year he again came to the Court, and as the King intended to go to Lāhōre, Khān Jahān obtained leave to return to his fief. In the 14th year he waited on the King in Lāhōre and received an increase of 1,000 horse so that his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, 5,000 of which were *dū aspa* and *sih aspa*. At this time, when Prince Jagat Singh the son of Rājā Bāsū rebelled, Khān Jahān was appointed with a force to chastise him and to take possession of his forts. At the time of taking leave he received a special *Khil'at* and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant together with a female elephant and a lac of rupees as an advance. In accordance with orders he spent the rainy season in Lāhōre and later when he had traversed the passes of Bahālwān³ and Machlibhawan he encamped within half a *kos* of the fort of Nūrpūr, and made excellent preparations by erecting earthworks and digging mines. Though a bastion of the fort was blown up, but as the besieged had erected a wall behind each bastion, there was no means of entry. Afterwards, in accordance with royal orders he undertook the siege of Mau' fort and displayed courage. In the fights he so pressed the besieged that the royal forces were able to enter the fort on another side, and Jagat Singh took to flight. As a reward an addition of 1,000 *dū aspa* and *sih aspa* troopers was made to his contingent. Afterwards, when Jagat Singh expressed his penitence, his offences were forgiven, and the said Khān returned to the Court with Prince Murūd Baksh. As in this year it was reported that Shāh Safī the ruler of Persia, was coming to take Qandahār, Prince Dīrā Shāh was deputed to check him. The said Khān received a special *Khil'at* and an ornamented sword, and two horses from the royal stables with gilded saddles and an elephant, and was appointed to accompany the Prince.

During this time the death of Shāh Safī was reported. In the 15th year the Khān received permission to go to his Gwālvār fief. In the 17th year he again came to the Court and, when Shāh Jahān went to

¹ Dhārāsīn in *Islah-nāma*. I pt. 2 p. 157.

² He is the famous Bijāpūr general Randaula. For a complete list of his important part in the various military campaigns see the list of his names in *Islah-nāma*. I pt. 2 p. 157.

³ Bahālwān in *Islah-nāma*. II p. 24. For a complete list of his names in the various campaigns see the *Zamīn-nāma* of Nūrpūr. For a list of his names in the

Ajmēr he was left in charge of Agra. After the return of Shāh Jahān, he remained at the Court for some time. In the 18th year he was allowed to go to his *pāqār*. In the 19th year he was summoned and did homage in Lāhōr. In the middle of the same year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.) he became paralytic and after remaining bedridden for two months died. The appreciative Sovereign grieved for his loss and made provision for his sons Sayid Mausūr Khān, Sayid Shūr Zamān and Sayid Munawwir—the two last became known as Sayid Muzaffar Khān and Sayid Lashkar Khān. A separate account¹ of them has been given.

The Khān had a great name and was possessed of much character and generosity. He spent his life with honour. To every one of the royal servants who was associated with him he gave villages out of his field. He was very gentle and considerate. They say that one day Shāh Jahān seated him at his table and made him share his meal. Afterwards when the King rose, Khān Jahān ran and placed his slippers under his feet. The King was angry and said: 'You should have respect for your high title. When a person has such a title we and all the Princes, not to speak of the others, need his support. And he does not make an exception in anybody's favour.' The King said: 'In future in all proceedings the code (*tārīkh*) and rules must be observed.' But they say that he did not succeed in worldly matters and did not trust his officers. He greatly favoured servants from his native land and their statements were believed by him. One day a collector who had embezzled five thousand rupees of the revenue of his *pāqār*, sent through a servant *ashrafī* to the value of Rs 3,000, with the request that this was the sum due to the *Dilān* and the accountant, but that he was afraid that they would tomorrow give a verdict for putting him to death. The said Khān was pleased and took the *ashrafī*. Though after this the clerks stated that Rs 5,000 of the revenue were due from him, the said Khān would not accept their statement.

KHĀN² JAHĀN LŌDĪ

(Vol I, pp 716-732)

He was the son of Daulat Khān Lōdī and belonged to the Shāhūkhail clan. His name was Pīr Khān. In early youth he quarrelled with his father and came to Bengāl to Rāja Mān Singh with his elder brother Muhammad Khān. One day, when they were desirous of crossing the river and entering the city (Gaur³) a dispute arose on board the boats, and it ended in a fight. It happened that two brother's sons of the Rāja were killed. After the Rāja had heard of what the two brothers had done in the matter he, on account of his former knowledge of them, presented them with Rs 30,000 and sent them away lest they should be maltreated by the Rājapūts. Muhammad Khān died in early youth and Pīrā had the good fortune to become a favourite with Prince Sultān Dāniyāl. They say his intimacy became such that they were inseparable, and that

¹ *Maāthir ul Umarā* Text II, pp 465-468

² For a notice of Khān Jahān, see *Khāfi Khān*, I p 411 etc. The Shāhūkhail clan is mentioned in Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p 308 and in Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.) p 564. For the origin of the Lōdīs, see Bellew's *Races of Afghanistan*, p 99. Shāhū perhaps refers to Shāh Husain the Lōdī.

the Prince spoke of him as his child (*farzand*) After the Prince's death, he in his twentieth year entered into the service of Jahāngīr and became a special favourite¹ First, he obtained the rank of 3,000, and the title of Šalābat Khān and shortly afterwards received the high title of Khān Jahān and the rank of 5,000 In point of intimacy and the influence of his words he had no rival, and Jahāngīr ordered that he should have a seat in the *Ghuslkhāna* He repeatedly took him into the female apartments, and wished to marry him to a relation of the royalty, and to give him the title of Sultān Jahān He represented that the title of Sultān was reserved for princes, and that sitting in the King's presence, and entering the female apartments were also their privileges, and begged that he might be spared such ceremonials, and also that the proposed connection with the royalty might not take place They say that Jahāngīr did not insist on the relation of master and servant between them, and treated him as a friend But he did not withdraw himself from service and did not extend his foot beyond the proper limits When Prince Parvīz was appointed to the Deccan, along with Rāja Mān Singh and Sharif Khān the Amīr-ul-Umarā to assist Khān-Khānān, the work did not make much progress, and in the year 1018 A H (1609 A D) Khān Jahān was sent with 12,000 horse to assist the imperialists At the time of his departure, the King descended from the public and private *gharōka* and placed his own turban on Khān Jahān's head, and took his hand and set him on his horse An order was passed that as he went he should beat his drums On one side the King, and on the other Khān Jahān indulged in unrestrained weeping on account of the impending separation At every stage presents for him arrived from the King Khān Jahān did not delay in Burhānpūr but proceeded towards Bālāghāt where the imperial camp was A great battle took place at Malkāpūr with Malik 'Ambar The Hindūstānī (i.e. up-country) soldiers, who did not know the Parthian² tactics of the Deccan, went on rapidly and suffered much loss After that Khān-Khānān came, and treated him with much politeness, and conveyed him to the Bālāghāt As it had been arranged by the Emperor that on one side Khān Jahān should advance with the army of the Deccan, and on the other 'Abdullāh Khān³ Zakhmī should advance to Daulatābād with the Gujarāt army, and so

¹ There is a detailed account of Khān Jahān and his ancestors in Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk : Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 87

² *Bargī girī*, of Elliot, VI, p. 428, last line Bargī is a name for the Mahrattas For an account of the battle, see Khāfī Khān, I, p. 318 and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 261, 262

³ It is not clear why the epithet *Zakhmī* is added to the name of 'Abdullāh Khān He is 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang of *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 777-780 Perhaps *chashm zakhmī*, the defeated, is what is meant In the notice of Khān Jahān Lōdī (p. 718) it is said that Malik 'Ambar intrigued with Khān-Khānān, and that accordingly the latter detained Khān Jahān Lōdī in Zafarnagar by pretexts and so brought about 'Abdullāh Khān's defeat whereas in (Text II, p. 780) in the account of 'Abdullāh Khān it is said that this account is not correct, as Khān Khānān was not then in the Deccan but had returned to the Court It appears that the author of the *Maāthir ul-Umarā* has confounded two events The time when Malik 'Ambar is said to have intrigued with Khān-Khānān was the 5th year of Jahāngīr's reign (vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk : Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 179, and Elliot, VI, p. 323) This was not the time when 'Abdullāh was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat, as that occurred some three years later in the 7th year of Jahān gir's reign, see Rogers and Beveridge, *op cit*, p. 219, and Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 273, 274

surround Mahk 'Ambar and chastise him, they say that the latter got alarmed and intrigued with Khân-Khānān. The latter accordingly by stratagem detained Khân Jahān for some time in Zafarnagar so that Abdullāh Khān reached Daulatābād and was defeated and had to make a shameful retreat. Mahk 'Ambar having got rid of him addressed himself to plundering the grass and food for Khân Jahān's camp. The price of corn rose so high that a *sār* could not be had for a rupee. There was also a great mortality among the quadrupeds. He was reduced to complete confusion and had to make a sort of peace and return to Burhānpūr. The disaster attached a stigma to the name of Khân-Khānān. Khân Jahān wrote¹ that "all this has occurred from the hypocrisy of the old trickster. Things must either be left to him, or he must be summoned to the Court, and I with 30 000 cavalry will in two years after relieving the fortresses make Bijpūr part of the empire, or not show my face among the royal servants." Accordingly the management of the whole affair of the Deccan was entrusted to Khân Jahān and Khân A'zam Kōka, Khān 'Alīm and other officers were added to the former auxiliaries and Khān Khānān hastened back to the Court. But the secret treachery of the royal officers still persisted and nothing could be achieved. Khân Jahān was censured and given the fief of Thānūsar² and made to reside in Ichpūr while the command was transferred to Khān A'zam. After a year, when Khān Jahān came to the Court, his old intimacy and influence were restored and there was not a hairbreadth of difference. In the 15th year when it appeared that the Qazalbāsh (Persian) was trying to conquer Qandahār, Khān Jahān was appointed governor³ of the province of Multān and sent to his post. In the beginning of the 17th year when Shāh 'Abbās took the fort of Qandahār after a siege of forty days, Khān Jahān in accordance with orders, went with all haste to the Court to advise about this matter. But his return at such a time was regarded by those who did not know of the royal orders, as a slight to Khān Jahān and indicating that he was not a leader. They were sure that on this occasion he would fall from his rank, and that he may not escape even with his life. The facts are that commands repeatedly came to him to the effect that he should beware of making an attempt on the fort and that only princes could oppose princes. After his arrival at the Court, it was settled that until the Prince came he should proceed to Multān and arrange for the expedition.

They say that many of Afghan tribes from the neighbourhood of Qandahār came to Multān and said to Khān Jahān that on account of tribal feeling if government would give five *tanlas* (piece) a day per horseman and two *tanlas* for footsoldiers—which amount was indispensable for food—they would serve in his van in large numbers till they had conquered Isfahān. They also promised that they would provide the

¹ Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 179 and Elliot, VI, p. 323, and *Iqbāl-nāma i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 45. For a connected account of the Deccan campaigns, see Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir*, pp. 261-266.

² This is a mistake for Thānūsar.

³ See Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 191, for the appointment of Khān Jahān as governor of Multān, there he is designated my son *farzand*. According to the *Tūzū* it was not till the beginning of the 17th year that there was any indication that the Persian king would attack Qandahār (p. 233). Khān Jahān was recalled and then sent in advance of the expedition against Qandahār.

also said that Shāh Jahān—to whom he had rendered such services—had been joined by Mahābat Khān the day before yesterday, and that Shāh Jahān had given him the title of *Sipahsālār* which had been conferred on him (Khān Jahān) by the (late) King (Jahāngīr) “You”, he said, “are, by the goodness of God, master of forces and of tribes, enter the service of whoever becomes the King” As the time of his fall was near at hand he, in spite of all his knowledge and ability—in which respects he was the unique of the age—made a mistake and sent back Jān Nithār Khān without even replying to the *farmān*

When it was reported that Shāh Jahān had sent Mahābat Khān from Gujarāt against Māndū—where Khān Jahān’s family was—he renewed the treaty with the Nizām Shāh and left Sikandar Dūtānī to guard Burhānpūr He himself came with the auxiliary officers to Māndū and took Mālwa from Muzaffar Khān Ma’mūrī who was the governor The royal officers all gathered round him and many of them said, “If you wish to fight, we all shall help you” When they saw that Khān Jahān had not made up his mind, and that they would have a bad name to no purpose, they turned away from him and went off to the Presence (of Shāh Jahān) And Khān Jahān when he perceived that Shāh Jahān had marched by Gujarāt and that all the officers and Rājas from all quarters had appeared before him—and it became apparent that the accession of Dāwar Bakhsh was only a ruse, and was an adumbration of Shāh Jahān’s sovereignty arranged by Āsaf Khān, he saw that what he (Shāh Jahān) had done was proper (i.e. in sending Jān Nithār Khān to him, etc.) But as the opportunity was gone, what was the good of repentance! He sent his *Vakil* to the Court and after the accession sent a tribute along with a coronet (*sihra*) of pearls Shāh Jahān, who was a world of knowledge and graciousness, ignored his evil behaviour and made¹ him governor of Mālwa In the 2nd year when he came to the Court after having settled the punishment of Jujhār Bundēla, though all the *Amirs* did not receive him as in the time of Jahāngīr, yet the King² in order to please him sent away to Delhi³ Mahābat Khān—who had become Khān-Khānān, and was always lording over everybody—and bowed his head to no one But

Verse

That cup was broken and that cupbearer was no more

Where was the respect with which he had been treated by his master? Where was the public and private reception? Moreover there was no sincerity on either side An order was given “Why have you all this army with you at the Court? You must discharge it” Also under some pretext some valuable properties were taken from him Continually, during the eight months that he was at the Court he was suspicious on

¹ Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412

² The account of Khān Jahān’s behaviour after the death of Jahāngīr, etc., may be compared with the account of Fādil Khān in *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 19, 20, Beveridge’s translation, p. 549

³ Khāfi Khān, I, p. 412, has the Deccan, but Delhi seems more correct, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352

account of his own actions, and lived unhappily and was agitated. One night, in the *Darbār*, Mirzā Lashkarī¹ the son of Mukhlis Khān said in his hotheaded way to the Khān Jahān's sons, "Today or tomorrow they'll imprison your father." When these idle words, which had no trace of the truth, reached Khān Jahān, he, by reason of his seeing that he was out of favour, fell into confusion and suspense and confined himself to his house. Shāh Jahān sent Islām Khān to him and asked for an explanation. He, being dominated by apprehensions, represented the alienation of the King's favour from him, and prayed that he might be favoured with a letter of security (*amān-nāma*) in the King's own hand. Shāh Jahān sent him such a letter and Yamīn-ud-Daula Āsaf Khān sympathetically said to him, "If you are to become a hermit, it is proper that we all should today become your companions." As the materials for his fall and ruin were apparent, he could not be reassured, and after the manner² of timid traitors suspicion augmented his suspicion.

They say that one night, when he wanted to leave Āgra and take the road of vagabondage, Āsaf Khān heard of it and reported the fact to the Emperor. He replied that as the promise had been written, it was not right to hinder him or to inflict punishment before the offence is committed. They were still conversing when news of his absconding was brought. Immediately Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbatī and other officers were deputed to pursue him.

They say it was the midnight³ of the Dīwālī, 27th Šafr, 1039 A H when he came out of his house at Āgra. When he came to the Hatīyāpūl Gate, he threw the reins of his horse's neck and lowering his head on his saddle-bow said, "O God, Thou knowest that I am leaving in order to save my honour and that there is no rebellion in my heart." When he came to Dhōlpūr⁴, the first persons to encounter him were Muzaffar Khān Bārah, Rāja Bēthal Dās, and Khidmat Parast Khān. A great fight took place. Husain and 'Azmat, his two sons, Shams his son-in-law, with his⁵ two brothers Muḥammad and Maḥmūd who were grandsons of 'Ālam Khān Lōdī—who was an old leader of the Afghāns—together with sixty of his chief servants, such as Bhikan Khān Qurēshī, and others were killed. Khān Jahān personally fought bravely and was wounded and endeavoured to reach the river Chambal, but on account of the violence of the current his women were not able to cross. His wife and daughters and some trustworthy dependants (*asāmī*) were put into litters on elephants and left behind in great agitation and confusion.

¹ Khāfī Khān, I, p. 412. See also Elliot, VII, pp. 8, 9, and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 273. The story is told with more detail and some verbal differences in *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 430, in the notice of Mukhlis Khān. For a detailed account of Khān Jahān during Shāh Jahān's reign see Banarsī Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 66-79.

² Khāfī Khān, I, p. 412.

³ Two hours after nightfall, Khāfī Khān, I, p. 414. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 275 gives the date of flight as Sunday, 26 Šafr. See Banarsī Prasad, *op. cit.* p. 71, where the date is given as October 5, 1629.

⁴ Eighteen kos from Āgra. There is, or was, a Hatīyāpūrī or Elephant Gate at Delhī, but the elephants were originally at Āgra.

⁵ That is Shams's brothers. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 278. Cf. with *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, I, p. 715. 'Ālam Khān Lōdī had been killed along with Rāja 'Alī of Fārh dēsh in the great battle against Suhrāil.

Verse 1

I've brought myself half alive out of the valley of death,
'Tis enough to have saved this out of a long march

On account of the delay of the royal army for a night² and a day Khān Jahān crossed the river. He then entered the jungles of the country of Jujhār Bundēla. He took unfrequented ways and proceeded to Gōndwāna. Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār³ ignored his coming, otherwise he could have apprehended him. Khān Jahān reposed for a time in Lānjī and then went by Berār to the country of Nizām Shāh Bahlūl Khān Mivāna the *jāgirdār* of Bālāpūr, and Sikandar Dūtānī joined him. Nizām Shāh regarded his coming as a great gain and received him with much cordiality and pitched his tents outside of Daulatābād.

When Khān Jahān came near his enclosure (*sarāparda*) and had not yet alighted from his horse, Nizām-ul-Mulk came out to welcome him, and placed him on the *masnad*, and himself took a seat on its corner. He gave him money for his expenses and assigned to him pargana Bīr as his *tanḥuāh*, though it was an imperial *thāna*. He also gave fiefs to his companions and dismissed them. He himself proceeded to collect his army. In the beginning of the 3rd year, Shāh Jahān came to Burhānpūr and made it his residence to uproot him. Three bodies of troops consisting of 50,000 cavalry were despatched under the leadership of A'zam⁴ Khān Sāvajī the governor of the Deccan. Khān Jahān confronted him with 40,000 cavalry of Nizām Shāh and others.

They say that on the day of battle he was sitting in his palanquin smoking and that 'Azīz Khān his son said to him, "If you want to give battle you should mount your horse and attack, otherwise why are you running the world?" He replied, "Do you believe that we shall prevail over the royal army? Alas! It has God-given Fortune. I wish that by these strugglings of a slaughtered animal an atonement may be made, and that there may be some hope for you, and that I may go to Mecca." These words of Khān Jahān caused the dispersal of the Afghāns who had come from Upper India with the idea of obtaining the sovereignty (of India). When the rains came, Khān Jahān took up his quarters in the village of Rājaurī four *kos* from the town of Bīr, and in the slope of the hills. When the rains ended, Muqarrab Khān the leader of the Nizām-Shāhī army and Bahlūl Khān on the approach of the army of A'zam Khān withdrew to Dhārwar from Jālnāpūr. Daryā Khān Rōhila had not joined (Khān Jahān) when A'zam Khān saw his opportunity and set out from Dēvalgāon and crossed the Godāvari, and from Manjhaligāon fell upon Khān Jahān who had not more than 400 horse. Khān Jahān prepared for the battle and sent off his women to the hills, and came out to fight. When he reached the highlands of Rājaurī an engagement took place between Bahādur Khān Lōdī, the brother's son of Khān Jahān, and Bahādur Khān Rōhila. Brave deeds were done on both sides, and though Bahādūr

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 279

² The army halted for seven watches, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 280

³ Jujhār was then in the Deccan. It is said there that Bikramājīt guided him out of his country to Gōndwāna, see Banarsi Prasad, *op cit*, p. 73

⁴ From Sāvā in Persia, also called Irādat Khān, see *Māāthir ul Umarā*, I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge's translation, pp. 315-319

Khān Rōhila fell on the field, the imperial army arrived with help Bahādur Khān Lōdī lost heart and sought to fly Rāja Bihār Singh Bundēla came up to that doomed man and killed him Khān Jahān went off with his women on horseback from Sīvagāon and came to Baidāpūr Daryā Khān joined him on the way From there he hastened to Daulatābād, and rested for a while Though they urged him to sit upon the throne, he replied "Fifty years of my life have gone, I do not know if after me my sons will be fit for the sovereignty Every Mughal will expel an Afghān with insult from the towns and country, and then the maidservants of the Afghāns will execrate me (*lit* will take my name and strike their slippers on the ground), saying 'We have come to this state by his wickedness' I cannot stand all this beating with slippers " Bahlūl and Sikandar became displeased and left him Nor did he see much kindness on the part of the Nizām Shāh Rather there were signs of the rise of disaffection He was disgusted with his interested friendship, and at the advice of Daryā Khān Rōhila, Aimal Khān Tarīn, and Sadr Khān formed the plan of going to the Panjāb so that he might stir up commotion there with the help of the Afghāns He came from Daulatābād to Antūr¹, and passing by Dharangāon² and Amba Pātar proceeded towards Mālwa 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang and Sayyid Muzaffar Khān Bārah pursued him He was unable to halt He continued his march, plundering as he went Near Saionj he seized 50 of the royal elephants and entered the Bundēla territory so that he might reach Kālpi Bikramājīt the son of Jujhār Bundēla to amend his former fault attacked the rear which was commanded by Daryā Khān, and in that struggle Daryā Khān was killed Khān Jahān was grieved at the death of such a companion and continued his march When he came to the territory of Bhāndēr³, Sayyid Muzaffar Khān Bārah of the King's vanguard nearly caught him up Khān Jahān sent on his family, and with 1,000 horse engaged in hot battle His son Maḥmūd Khān and many others were killed Khān Jahān was helpless and turned his rein When he came to Kālīnjar, Sayyid Ahmad the governor of the fort barred his passage In that fight his son Hasan Khān was made prisoner Khān Jahān went on, a doomed man, some twenty *kos* more, and halted at the bank of a tank at Sahīnda⁴ He said to his men, "The royal army does not cease from following us and is close upon our heels How long shall I fly? All our relatives and clansmen have been killed I too am satiated with life There is no remedy save death Whoever wishes, may leave " He distributed to them whatever (property) remained Many went off on 1 Rajab (24th January, 1631 A D), the others advanced with firm foot and engaged Sayyid Muzaffar Khān Bārah At last Khān Jahān dismounted along with his son 'Aziz Khān, Aimal Khān Tarīn, and Sadr Khān, and fought with swords and daggers as long as there was life in their bodies He fell to the ground from an arrow⁴ (bullet?) of Mādḥū Singh 'Abdullāh Khān Zakḥmī (the wounded) sent his head to the Court, and it was shown to Shāh Jahān while he was taking an airing in a boat on the Tāptī in Burhānpūr In accordance with his

¹ Katal Antūr, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 437

² Dharangāon and Jōpra, Khāfi Khān, I, p. 437

³ Elliot, VII, p. 21, note 2

⁴ A spear (*barchā*), see *Bādshāhnāma* I p. 351, and Elliot, VII p. 22

orders it was buried in his father's tomb Tālib¹ Kalīm wrote this quatrain

Quatrain

This pleasant news was an additional ornament,
What joy did not this end of two evils cause,
The departure of Daryā made the head of Pīrā depart,
As if his head were a bubble of the river

The following chronogram enigmatically² gives the date

Ki āh o nalah az Afghān bar āmad
(Sighs and laments emerged from the Afghāns)

In their accounts of Khān Jahān contemporaries have added too much or stated too little. Some maintain that in reality he had no intention to rebel. All that happened was done in self-defence (*khud dārī*). Others say that he was a born rebel and recalcitrant, and observe no bounds in their abuse of him. Leaving aside the words of his detractors and panegyrists, what comes out from his history is that he was a straight³ and honest man. He was not a time-server or a double-faced person. The blows of circumstance had not touched him. The word of check had not reached his ear, and all out of envy were lying in wait for him. The King of India (Jahāngīr) with all his glory and grandeur was enamoured of him. Out of pride and unconciliatory nature of his temperament he did not bow his head to heaven or prince (*falah o mallak*).

One day Shah Jahān apropos of something said to Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārāh, "This title is of a man from whom we and all the princes desire to receive attention, but he out of contempt says nothing to anybody." All at once the jugglery of the heavens produced a new world, and there was a new arrangement on the carpet of universe. His distinction and intimacy no longer existed. Men who had not been admitted⁴ to his presence claimed to be his equals, or rather they raised their heads above him. The exhibition (by him) of some disrespectful actions—which were regarded at the Court as sedition and rebellion—produced the result that every want of attention was regarded as an affront, and every idle word as the sound of banishment. Moreover he was jealous and proud, and far from affable. He felt out of place, and his heart was aggrieved. He preferred vagabondage and a death⁵ in the desert. To the lofty minded no evil is more intolerable than disgrace after honour. So he brought himself to where he brought

¹ Commonly called Abū Tālib. See Rieu II, p. 686. He was a native of Hamadān, and became Shāh Jahān's poet laureate. His quatrain is a play on the word Daryā which means both the Daryū Khān who was Khān Jahān's follower and a river. Pīrā was Khān Jahān's name, Pīr Muhammad, and may also stand for evil. The quatrain is given in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 352.

² The chronogram is ingenious. *Az Afghān* yields 1040, the proper date, but the word for Afghāns, i.e. for the plural number is *Afghānān* = 1091. We deduct *a* and *n* = 51 from this, as representing *ah* sighs, and *nālah* laments and so get 1040. There is also a play on the word *Afghān* which means laments as well as an Afghān.

³ The author passes lightly over this selling the Deccan to Nizām Shāh.

⁴ Perhaps persons who had not his privilege of admission to the Emperor.

⁵ *Byābān margī*, desert pestilence?

the tank which had been made by Shāh Qulī Mahram¹, who had been *jagirdār* there for forty years. In the 3rd year (of Shāh Jahān) he had an increase of 500, and was appointed to the Deccan along with his elder brother Multafat Khān. In the same year the office of Superintendent of the artillery for the whole of the Deccan was, at the request of Shāyista Khān the Governor, conferred upon him. Such an arrangement as he made of the establishment had not been made by any of the governors (of the Deccan). He personally visited all the forts, and examined minutely all details, and provided each with bullets, lead and gunpowder. He caused the muster of all the old artificers and workmen (*ahshām*²), who for years had, by means of favouritism and bribery, spent their days in comfort and the enjoyment of promotion³, with or without providing substitutes. He built a wall three yards in height and breadth as a target, and tested every musketeer by making him aim at it from a distance of forty paces three times. Whoever did not even once hit the mark was dismissed. He reduced the allowances of some weak and disabled men, and kept them under surveillance. In this manner, he in one and a half months saved for the exchequer Rs 50,000 and made his own honesty, skill and perspicacity apparent to the world. In the 27th year he obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Muftakhūr Khān. On the death of 'Arab Khān he was made governor of the forts of Fathābād and Dhārwar. As during his service in the Deccan he had impressed his character for devotion, etc., on the mind of Prince Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, so when confusion arose and the Prince resolved to proceed to the Capital, Khān Zamān accompanied him. After reaching Burhānpūr he was granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was made Mīr Bakhsī with the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the battle with (Mahārāja) Jaswant he received the title of Khān Zamān and the present of a *tōgh*, and a drum. After the overthrow of Dārā Shikōh, and the success of 'Ālamgir the office of Mīr Bakhsī was restored to Muḥammad Amīn Khān, the son of Muḥammad Mu'azzam Khān (Mīr Jumla), and Khān Zamān on account of his usefulness in the Deccan had an increase of 1,000 and attained the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was made governor of the fort of Zafarābād Bīdar which had been added to the imperial territories by Aurangzib. Afterwards he was appointed to the management of the affairs of Ahmadnagar. In the 9th year he was, in succession to Dā'ūd Khān Qurēshī made governor of Khāndēsh, and in the 18th year he had the rank of 5,000 with 3,000 horse and was made governor of Berār. In the 20th year he was made governor of Zafarābād Bīdar and had the charge of that fort assigned to him. In the 24th year he came⁴ with Shāh 'Ālam from the Deccan to Ajmēr, and did homage. For some days he was attached to the stirrups of the Prince and engaged in the pursuit of Akbar, the rebel (Prince Akbar), and in the chastisement of the Rājputs. In the same year he was appointed again to serve in Burhānpūr as governor in succession to Īrj Khān, and had an increase of 1,000 horse.

¹ Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 387, 388

² For *Ahshām*, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 160, etc.

³ *Ba'waz o bilā'waz*. But the variant *bē'waz o bilā'waz*, without giving a substitute or doing any work, appears to be more appropriate.

⁴ *Maathūr-i-Ālamgirī*, p. 209

It chanced that in the same year¹, viz., 1091 A H (1680 A D) Sambā Sawā'ī had, before the arrival of the Khān made a night-march of 35 *los* and fallen upon Bahādurpūra two *los* from Burhānpūr and had insulted the Muhammadans and infidels, and plundered their property. Some of the leading men had time to perform the *jōhar* for their wives and children, and many took to flight with their families. Kākar Khān Afghān who, as Khān Zamān's deputy was guarding the city (Burhānpūr) protected it with great difficulty. As the learned men and the Shaikhs of the city left off public prayers and reported to the Court the predominance of the infidels—who plundered the Muhammadans at their pleasure—Aurangzib proceeded towards the Deccan from Ajmēr. On 12th Dhul Qa'da of the 25th year, the King arrived at Burhānpūr, and Khān Zamān the Governor of the area paid his respects.

When in the same year, Rabī' I, 1093 A H (February, 1682 A D) Aurangzib proceeded to Aurangābād, Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was appointed to stay in Burhānpūr, and went from Bahādurpūra, Khān Zamān was appointed to wait upon the Prince. At the same time Khān Zamān was appointed² to the government of Mālwa in succession to Mukhtār Khān. In the end of the 27th year, 1095 A H (1684 A D) he died there. He was well versed in every science and was famed for his calligraphy. He was skilled in polite literature and was an able man of business. He did not need the guidance of others in transacting affairs, and he was a man of pleasant manners. He was skilful in collecting men—especially were his unerring marksmen—who could sew up the eye of a snake on a dark night with a fire-bearing arrow—famous throughout the world. He was deeply skilled in music, and in spite of his being immersed in business he was devoted to singing and amusement (*rāg o rang*). He had in his house fairy-faced songsters and attractive musicians. The famous Zainābādī, who was the beloved of Aurangzib when a Prince, was one of them. It is stated that she was his (Khān Zamān's) mistress.

They say that the Prince went one day to the world-adorning garden of Zainābād in Burhānpūr which was commonly called the Deer-Park (*Ahū Khāna*), and paid a visit to the ladies of the harem there. He held a banquet with his familiars and strolled about with them. Zainābādī³ was unique as a songstress and excelled in her beauty. She came with Khān Zamān's noble consort—who was the Prince's maternal aunt (sister of Mumtāz Mahal the wife of Shāh Jahān), and in the course of the walk she saw a mango tree laden with fruit. Without considering the respect

¹ It was the 23rd year of Aurangzib, Khāfi Khān, II, p. 272. See, however, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 244, and Kincaid and Parasani *History of the Maratha People*, p. 119, from which it will be seen that the attack was in January or February 1681 A D or in 1092 A H. Sawā'ī seems to have been a title which Sambhā gave to himself, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 384. It was a title afterwards given to Jai Singh of Jaipur. Perhaps it was a Rājput title and taken by Sambhā as showing his Rājput descent.

² The 14th according to Khāfi Khān, II, p. 278, and Elliot, VII, p. 310.

³ Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri, p. 220. His death occurred in the end of the 27th year and Mughal Khān was appointed as his successor early in the 28th year, vide *op cit*, p. 246.

⁴ Apparently she was so called from living at the garden (the name signifies the abode of grace). The garden seems to have been that made on the bank of the Tāptī by Khān Daurān, see Maāthir ul Umrā, I, p. 757. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 56-58 for a detailed account of Zainābādī.

due to the Prince, she ran forward joyfully and playfully, and leapt up on the tree and plucked a fruit. This movement was a heart-robbing one and it robbed the Prince of his self-control and his virtue.

Verse

It was a wondrous snare of love's robberies,
The friendly glance of the beloved was more than friendship

By begging and imploring he obtained possession of her from his indulgent aunt and with all his asceticism and purity he gave his heart to her and used to fill a cup of wine with his own hand and give it to her.

It is stated that she too one day put a cup of wine into the Prince's hand and urged him to drink it. Though he begged and prayed, she had no pity on him and the Prince was helpless, and was about to drink it, when the sly girl drank it off herself, saying "It was to test your love and not to make your palate bitter with this liquor full of evil." This passionate love grew to such an extent that Shāh Jahān heard of it. Dārā Shikōh—who heartily disliked him—made the story a ground of calumny and detraction and said to Shāh Jahān "What restraint and self-control has that hypocritical ascetic, he is ruining himself for a girl of his aunt's." As Fate decreed, the flower of her life faded in its spring, and the Prince was marked with the perpetual scar of separation. Her tomb is in Aurangābād near the great tank. As the death of one's beloved robs a man of his power, the Prince became altered on the day of her death and in his restlessness resolved to go out hunting. Mīr 'Askarī¹ 'Āqil Khān was in his retinue, and when he had an opportunity of speaking privately to him he said "Will it be advisable for you to go hunting when in this state (of mind)?" In reply the Prince recited the verse

Laments at home comfort not the heart,
In the desert one can weep one's fill

'Āqil Khān recited this verse as suitable to the occasion

Verse 2

How easy Love appeared. Alas! how hard it was!
How hard was parting, what rest the Beloved attained!

The Prince was touched, and committed the verse to memory.

Khān Zamān during his government of Berār chose the village of Harm three kos from Ilchpūr, which is the Capital of the province, as his residence and called it Khānzamānnagar. He erected lofty buildings of which traces still remain. He also had a residence in Burhānpūr. His sons passed away without any of them obtaining distinction.

¹ *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, II, pp 821-823

² *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, II, p 823. The couplet was 'Āqil's own. See Manucci's account of this love story, I, p 231.

KHĀN ZAMĀN MEWĀTĪ

(Vol I, pp 829-832)

His father was Shaikh Ghulām Mustafī Kārṭalab Khān of Bahādur Shāh's body-guard (Wālā-Shāhī) and belonged to the Qādizādas of Firūzpūr in Mēwāt. He had a little learning, and had read some of the ordinary books. The commencement of his service was on the establishment of 'Aqil Khān Khawāfī the governor of Shāhjahānābād (Delhī). He taught the Khān's children. Afterwards, he became connected with Mun'im Khān the *Divān* of Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (afterwards Bahādur Shāh), and through his intervention obtained a royal *mansab*. When Mun'im Khān had charge of the government of Lāhore on behalf of the Prince, the performance of much of the business was entrusted to Khān Zamān. When the Prince came, after his father's death, from Peshāwar to Lāhore, and sat upon the throne and struck coins and had the *Khutba* recited, he increased the allowances of his old and new servants and gave them titles. Khān Zamān on account of his ability and industry had an increase of *mansab* and received the title of Kārṭalab Khān. After victory had declared itself, he was made *krōrī* of the market of the imperial camp, but when Mun'im Khān received the title of Khān-Khānān and became *Vazīr*, he, on account of his long companionship, had full charge of the administration and received a high rank. When Shāh Dhōrā¹, which is a pargana appertaining to Sirhind and is famed owing its connection with the shrine of Shāh Faīd Qādirī, became the camp of Bahādur Shāh, and before the death of Khān-Khānān, Khān Zamān, who now had the title of 'Alī 'Askar Khān, was made *faujdār* of the *Chakla* of Etāwah which is one of the noble *Khālṣa* estates of Āgra. He ruled over thirty *kos* of territory on the banks of the Jumnā. Afterwards, when Jahāndār Shāh came to power, Prince I'zz-ud-Dīn his eldest son² was appointed under the guardianship of Khwāja Hasan Khān Daurān to oppose Farrukh-siyar who was advancing from Patna. Most of the *faujdārs* in the line of rank or near it were ordered to furnish auxiliaries, and the Khān, who had a good force with him, marched and joined the Prince. He accompanied him for some days and became acquainted with the nature of the leader and the ways of the Court. The Prince was only in name and was under the control of the Khān Daurān, and the latter, who was inexperienced, ruled by craft and fraud. His cowardice, etc. foretold disaster. Khān Zamān watched his opportunity and when Farrukh-siyar approached, he set off with his troops and the treasure which he had with him and having marched through the evening and night, joined him, and was the object of a thousand congratulations. In the battle against Jahāndār Shāh, he in conjunction with Chabīla Ram Nāgar galloped off towards Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān Jahān, and engaged in the fight. He several times made brave attacks, and after the victory received the title of Khān Zamān Bahādur, and a high rank as a mark of royal favour. Afterwards he went off to the government of Multān.

¹ Sādhurah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 296. The Sādhaura of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, p 347. It is in the Ambāla district, and the local saint is called in the *Imperial Gazetteer* Shah Kumāis. There is the variant Qais.

² For an account of the children of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh, see Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp 242, 243.

and acquired a great name. He did not have so much power and influence in the time of the reigning Sovereign (Muhammad Shāh), and after the catastrophe of Nādir Shāh's expedition, when Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh went off to the Deccan, he made over the charge of his estates in Upper India to Khān Zamān. 'The end of a groom is to sell hay', and in the discharge of his duty he died.¹

KHĀN ZAMĀN SHAIKH NIZĀM

(Vol I, pp 794-798)

He was from Haidarābād, and one of the military Shaikhzādas of the Deccan. He had an abundant share of courage. He became an *Amir* under Abūl Hasan the ruler of Telingāna (Gōlconda). He acquired a name for leadership and military skill. At the time of the siege of Gōlconda he was at the head of the Qutb-Shāhī troops and engaged the imperial forces outside the fort. One day he had an encounter on the top of a battery with Khān Firūz Jang, and there was a great fight. Though the imperialists tried to carry off the corpse of one of their men, they did not succeed and the other side carried it off along with some bodies of their own men.

When Fortune and the happy star turned away from Abūl Hasan and every day there were increasing signs of misfortune, he departed from loyalty to him and attached himself to the threshold of Aurangzīb. When the principal servants of Abūl Hasan, out of cupidity and in the hope of attaining offices, threw the dust of unfaithfulness on their heads and no leader but he remained, his disaffection was regarded as productive of Abūl Hasan's downfall, and special efforts were made to win him over. After he had accepted service he received² the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse, the title of Muqarrab Khān and the gift of a flag, drums and a lac of rupees together with Arab and Persian horses, as also strong elephants and other gifts, and was made an object of royal favour. His sons and relatives also received offices, several of them were not lower than 4,000, and altogether they had *manşabs* of 25,000 with 21,000 horse. After Haidarābād had been taken and the city of Bījāpūr had for the second time become the seat of the royal encampment, Khān Zamān, who was unique in military science, was sent to take the fort of Panhāla³ which was in the possession of the enemy. The Khān appointed spies to obtain information about Sambhā who after his father's death was the leader in the Deccan. Suddenly the news came that he, on account of a dispute with the clan of Bairāgis⁴ who were related to him, had come from Rāhēri to the fort of Khēlna, and after making an agreement with them and satisfying himself about the victualling of a fort, had gone to

¹ See Irvine, *Journ As Soc Bengal* for 1896, pp 186, 198, 199, where he is called 'Ali Asghar Khān and Khān Zamān ('Ali Asghar). Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp 214, 230, 231. Khān Zamān is also called 'Ali Asghar in Khāfi Khān, II, p 721.

² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p 296.

³ Panhāla of Text is Panhāla—one of Shivaji's strong forts. Shaikh Nizām was sent to besiege it in 1693, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p 398.

⁴ Shirke according to Sir Jadunath, *op cit*, p 399, note *.

Sangamnir (Sangamēswar)—where his *pēshkār* Kab Kalus¹ had made grand houses and gardens and was occupied in amusing himself. The *Khān* hastened there from Kōlāpūr² which was 45 *los* off and separated from Sangamēswar by a very steep and bad road. He washed his hands of life in zeal for his master and was accompanied by a few devoted men. Though spies informed Sambhā that the *Mughals* were coming, he from sottish drunkenness and arrogance signed with his eyebrow for their heads³ being removed from their bodies and mockingly said "The ignorant fellows have grown mad. Can the *Mughal* troops come here?" Meanwhile the *Khān*, after abundant hardships and difficulties—in the course of which he had to go on foot in many places—came upon him like lightning, with 300 troopers. Sambhā, doubly intoxicated by pride and wine called for the help of 4 to 5,000 Deccani troopers and fought. By destiny, an arrow from the hand of fate reached Kab Kalus and after a short struggle Sambhā's party fled, and he crept into the house of Kab Kalus. He and Kab Kalus and 25 of his chief men with his wives and daughters—except Rām Rāja his younger brother who was in one of the other forts—were seized. Among them was Rāja Sāhū, his eldest son, who was seven or eight years of age. As this news reached the King in Iklūj he gave⁴ that place the name of Sa'dnagar. After that, when the *Khān* came out from that desolate place, none of his (*Sambhājī's*) assistants and companions could move hand or foot. He (*Sambhājī*) came to the Presence at Bahādurgarh, and was put into the prison of retribution⁵. At the same time Aurangzib came down from the throne and placing himself on a corner of the carpet humbly offered thanks to God. The chronogram is

Verse

Bā zan o farzand shud Sambhā asir

(With wife and son Sambhā was made prisoner—1100 A H,
1689 A D)

In reward for this great service the victorious *Khān* received the title of *Khān Zamān Fath Jang* and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse and Rs 50,000 in cash, etc. His sons and companions received increases of rank and the gifts of dresses of honour. After that *Khān Zamān* was for a time attached to the army of Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh. In the 37th year the Prince returned to the Court as he was afflicted with dropsy. *Khān Zamān* paid his respects, and with his sons and other relatives was the recipient of favours and went off with Prince Bīdār Bakht to punish the enemy. Apparently he died in the 40th year. He

¹ The Kuloosha of Grant Duff, *History of Marhattas* (1921 edn), I, pp. 238, 239, etc., and the Calusha of Elphinstone, *History of India* (1905 edn), p. 613, and Kalasha in Kincaid and Parasanius, *History of Maratha People*, p. 127. Evidently Kab in his title and means a bard. He was a Brahman, see Elliot, VII, pp. 286, 305.

² Shōlāpūr in *Maāthir i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 321.

³ *Khāfī Khān*, II, p. 385, says he ordered their tongues to be cut out. The account is taken from *Maāthir i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 321.

⁴ Taken from *Maāthir i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 322.

⁵ For a detailed account of the capture of Sambhājī (called Sambhūjī), see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp. 396-407.

divined his object and said to his brother "Virtue ¹ (*Ridā*) has not come, it is your and our Fate (*Qadā*) that has arrived" Yamīn-ud-Daula in accordance with the order made over the blinded Sultān Shahryār, Sultān Bulāqī and Tahmūras and Hūshang the sons of Sultān Dāmyāl to *Khidmat Parast Khān* He on 25 Jumāda ² I, 1037 A H (1st February, 1628 A D) put them all to death in one day

On the accession he had an increase of rank and was made *Mir Tuzuk* and received an ornamental staff After that he was made *Mir Ātish* (Head of the artillery) In the 2nd year when *Khān Jahān Lōdī* fled from Agra he—in advance of the officers who had been appointed under the leadership of *Khawāja Abūl Hasan* to pursue *Khān Jahān*,—came up with Sayyid Muzaffar *Khān Bārāh*, and Rāja Bēthal Dās ³ Gaur—with the enemy in Dhōlpūr and bravely engaged them He several times flung himself down upon the foe, and received ⁴ a wound from an arrow (bullet?) which struck his temple and brought him to his end

They say that as *Khidmat Parast Khān* went rapidly in pursuit, he travelled by night, and losing his way, came upon the ladies (*qabīla*) of *Khān Jahān Lōdī* who had gone off with his son-in-law (Muḥammad Shāh Lōdī) ⁵ towards the Chambal ⁶ A great fight took place, and so much bravery was shown on both sides that it cast into oblivion the deeds of Rustam and Isfandiyār Muḥammad Shāh Lōdī with his two brothers, and twelve of the relations and confidential servants of *Khān Jahān* were killed, and Ridā Bahādur with sixty of his best followers was also killed in the King's service His body was conveyed to the *Naḥkhās* (cattle-market) of Agra and a dome was erected there He was married to a daughter of Kōtwāl *Khān* a Georgian slave of Daulat *Khān*—who had been presented by *Khān-Khānān* They loved each other so excessively that the tale of their affection was celebrated all over *Khidmat Parast Khān* would say to her "My life is devoted to the service of the King, I will probably die to-day or to-morrow in my master's service, what will happen to you?" She would show opium and poison which she carried in the corner of her dress After his death, though she did not have the grace of dying, she sat in wretched circumstances at the head of his grave On this account Shāh Jahān gave her *Khidmat Parast Khān's* property, and also allowed her a daily pension A year had not elapsed when out of the intoxication of wealth and the instigations of bad company she became enamoured of music and dancing and took to drinking When the King became aware of this, he gave her in marriage to Qil'adūr *Khān Chēla* After his death she shaved her head and again sat at the head of Ridā Bahādur's tomb Shāh Jahān again granted her the daily pension

¹ Punning on his name *Ridā*

² *Khāfi Khān*, I, p 394, says the 22nd In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 79, the date is 25th, while in *Iqbāl-nāmā-i-Jahāngīrī*, p 303, it is 26 Jumāda I

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 117, has Rāja Bēthal Dās son of Rāja Gopāl Dās Kaur (Gaur) There is a notice of Rāja Bēthal Dās Gaur in *Maāthir ul Umarā* II pp 250-256, Beveridge's translation, pp 401-404 It is Rāja Vithaldas in Banarsī Prashad, *op cit*, p 64

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 278, also Banarsī Prashad, *op cit*, p 72

⁵ Called Shams in *Maāthir ul Umarā*, I, p 725

⁶ In the text Chital It is the Dhōlpūr river, i.e., the Chambal see *Khāfi Khān*, I, p 418 Also see Banarsī Prashad, *op cit*, p 72

It is stated that Ridā Bahādur had 200 superior servants and that every day he ate with 50 of them, and that they were excused from guard and from (*sauvārī*) personal attendance(?) After Shāh Jahān's accession he was sent with a large force to chastise the Mēwās (Mēos) of Mēwāt There he committed many murders and put them all to the sword Those who escaped the sword, whether old or young, were all castrated so that the race might be extirpated A large number of women and children were brought as prisoners to Āgra and daily many of them used to die of want and hunger

They say there was a jeweller famous for his wealth He came to the chief *Dūān*, Afzal Khān, and agreed—in the hope of eternal recompense—to stand surety for the payment in four instalments of two lacs of rupees for their release The prisoners were released, and he paid the first instalment in cash For the second instalment he gave a *tōmār* (bond) upon his house and effects worth Rs 30,000, and for the balance he came with his sons and daughters into the office (*kachehrī*) and sat there When this was reported to the King, and the jeweller was questioned, he said that innocent women and children were daily dying of hunger, and that in lieu of their blood-money he was offering his own life and his wife and children Shāh Jahān after this noble payment gave him back his bond (*tōmār*) and also let him off the remainder But it was ordered that the *Dūānī* clerks should not (in future) accept any security without investigation

KHIDR KHAWAJA KHAN

(Vol I, pp 613–615)

He belonged to the race of the rulers of Mughalīstān The author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* says that he was descended from the Princes of Kāshghar¹ On joining the service of Humāyūn he was honoured with favours At the time when owing to the unkindness of the heavens misfortunes made their appearance, he deserted Humāyūn (*lit* he made the flank of zeal empty of companionship) When that Sovereign returned from Persia, he, in company with Mīrzā 'Askarī, was besieged in the fort of Qandahār When the siege had lasted a long time Khidr Khawāja Khān threw himself out of the fort at a spot near the royal battery, and taking the collar of submission in the hand of humility he fell at Humāyūn's feet, and was again the recipient of royal favours As he was adorned with high birth and noble qualities, he was honoured by an alliance with the exalted family and was married to Gulbadan Bēgam² the half-sister of Humāyūn By the auspiciousness of this connection he attained to the rank of Amīr-ul-Umarā

When in the beginning of his reign, Akbar proceeded from the Panjāb to Delhī to extinguish the flames of the ascendancy of Hēmū, he left Khidr Khawāja Khān with a suitable force to control the distracted conditions in the Panjāb³ and to put down Sultān Sikandar Sūr who was

¹ See De's edition of *Tabaqāt-i-Albarī* Text II, p 428, translation II, p 656

² For a detailed account of Gulbadan Bēgam, see Mrs Beveridge's *History of Humāyūn*, pp 1–79 (1902)

³ *Albarnāma*, Text II, p 31, Beveridge's translation II, p 50

a claimant for the throne of India he in the battle of Sirhind had escaped from the clutches of Humāyūn's heroes and taken refuge in the Siwāhik hills. Sultan Sikandar was looking for an opportunity, and considering the affair of Hēmū to his advantage, he gathered a force and came out of the hills and set about collecting tribute in the Panjāb¹. Khidr Khwāja Khān left Hājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī in charge of the defences of Lāhōre and marched out to oppose Sultān Sikandar. When he came near the town of Chamvāri and there remained a distance of ten kos between the two armies, Khidr Khwāja Khān separated 2,000 of his choice men from his force and sent them ahead as the vanguard. Sultān Sikandar did not lose his opportunity and a great fight took place. He defeated the vanguard, and Khidr Khwāja did not think it advisable to stand his ground, but returned to Lāhōre without fighting and set about strengthening the fortifications. Sikandar pursued him for a short distance and then looked to his own affairs, and levied tribute and gathered troops. When Akbar had routed Hēmū, he regarded the putting down of Sikandar as the most important matter and returned to the Panjāb. They say that when Akbar determined upon this expedition he took an omen from the *Dīrān* of Hāfiz (*Lisān-ul-Ghaib*) and that this verse turned up²:

Verse

The water (of life) was not vouchsafed to Sikandar,
This boon cannot be gained by might or money.

On hearing of this expedition Sikandar saw that he could not resist and withdrew to his fixed abode in the Siwāhiks and shut himself up in the fortress of Mānkōt³. When the siege had lasted about six months and the batteries had been brought close to the fort, Sikandar became alarmed and begged for the coming of one of the leading officers to comfort him. By the mediation of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atga, and Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shērwanī—whom Sikandar had won over by a large sum of money—his petition was accepted and the Atga Khān was sent to soothe him. Sikandar made his many enemies an excuse for not waiting upon Akbar and sent his son 'Abd-ur-Rahīm with Ghāzī Khān and some elephants as a tribute. In accordance with his request Bihār, etc., was given to him in fief, and on 27 Ramadān 964 A H (24 July, 1557 A D) and in the second year of the reign he delivered over the fort and went off to Bihār. After two years he died there⁴.

¹ *Albarnāma*, Text II, p. 47. Beveridge's translation II, pp. 73, 74.

² *Albarnāma*, Text II, p. 47. Beveridge's translation II, p. 75.

³ For the siege of Mānkōt and its capture see *Albarnāma*, Text II, pp. 50, 51, 58, 59. Beveridge's translation II, pp. 79, 80, 90.

⁴ This is an unsatisfactory biography. The author breaks off and digresses into an account of Sikandar Sūr, which is mainly adapted from *Albarnāma*. The last mention of Khidr Khwāja in this work is in 1634 A D when he helped Hākim 'Am ul Mulk in treating Akbar when he was wounded by an assassin see *Albarnāma*, Text II, p. 202. Beveridge's translation II, p. 313. For his life also see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.) p. 304 note 1.

daughter of Asad Khān One of them was granted his father's title, and contrary to most noblemen's sons—who spend their time in frivolities—he lived with great virtue and asceticism, and occupied himself in prayers and other religious duties At the time of writing he is the *Dīvān* of Āsaf Jāh His honesty—which is a rare jewel in this world—is patent to all He was, however, pronounced incapable by those who could not appreciate him and was dismissed

KHUDĀWAND¹ KHĀN DECCANĪ

(Vol I, pp 659, 660)

He was one of the officers of the Nizām-Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar His father was from Mashhad and his mother an Abyssinian He was of imposing stature and great physical strength He was also noted for his courage When Khwāja Mirak of Isfahān known as Chingiz Khān became the *Vakil* and Prime Minister of Murtadā Nizām Shāh, he brought forward Khudāwand Khān and made him an *Amīr* and procured for him choice estates in Berār He soon acquired much wealth and power and became a great man The mosque of Rōhan-Khēra,² which has stood for ages without being injured or broken, was built by him In the year 993 A H he came, in company with Mīr Murtadā of Sabzawār who was the head of the Berār army and could not stay in the Deccan on account of the predominance of Salābat Khān the Circassian, to Fatḥpūr and entered Akbar's service He obtained the rank of 1,000 and received promotion at the Court But in the 32nd year, 995 A H, he lost favour on account of improper behaviour between him and his servants at a royal assemblage, and which was the result of his want of tact, and non-appreciation of dignities When Pattan Gujarāt was assigned as his fief he went off there to look after it and died in 997 A H (1588-89 A D)

They say, that one day Shaikh Abūl Fadl invited him to a feast There were many *Amīrs* present As the Shaikh had provided abundance of viands, and there was great variety and much splendour in accordance with his lavish ways, there were placed before each of his servants nine dishes, a plate (*langar*) of mutton-*buryān*³ and one hundred loaves Before Khudāwand Khān were set many dishes of fowl and partridge and varieties of vegetables and curries (*sālān*) He was displeased and got up because they had brought to him roasted fowls through scorn and derision When this affair was reported to Akbar, he said to Khudāwand Khān that these things were the recognized dainties of Upper India "Otherwise if it had been a question of food (i.e. if you had wanted other food), nine dishes⁴

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 490, 491 Rohankhed of *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, p 304 The statement in that work that the mosque was built by another Khudāwand seems wrong

² Blochmann, *op cit*, p 490, note 2

³ *Buryān* is a choice dish, see Blochmann, *op cit*, p 63

⁴ See *Darbār-i Akbarī*, p 721 Apparently it was not his behaviour on this occasion, but some quarrel between him and his servants that lost him Akbar's favour According to Badāyūnī, Text II, p 372 and Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p 384, Khudāwand died at Kāri in Gujarāt in 998 A H The chronogram *Khudāwand Dakhnī murda* is correct if we read *murd* instead of *murda* and this seems preferable to Blochmann's suggestion (*op cit*, p 490) of leaving the *h* in *Dakhnī* Mr Lowe's calculation on p 381 n seems to be wrong

(*langarī*) had been placed before your servants” Notwithstanding this, Khudāwand Khān was not satisfied about the Shaikh, and did not go again to his house Hence it is that in Upper India men of the Deccan are reckoned as fools and as persons of weak intellect

KHUDĀYĀR KHĀN

(Vol I pp 825-829)

He was the ruler of Sindh, known as Lētī (Latī) ¹ and he belonged to the ‘Abbāsī family The title of the family in the language of Sind is Kalhōra ² and his followers were called Sarā’vān because most of this tribe came from Sarā ³ which is the name given to the district between Bhakkar and Multān His ancestors wore the dress of darvishes, and they were disciples of Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr the Mahdavi One of his ancestors were connected with the head of the Abrah tribe ⁴—who from early times had been the rulers of Sindh He acquired a piece of land as *madad-ma’āsh* ⁵ (maintenance-land) His sons lived by it and gathered many disciples and dependants At last they became *zamīndārs* and paid rent to the rulers Gradually they gained power over the Abrah tribe and brought many of their villages under their dominion At last came the time of Shaikh Nasir He became firmly possessed of *zamīndārī* property and after his death his elder son Shaikh Dīn Muḥammad became the leader In the time of Aurangzib when Prince Mu’izz-ud-Dīn (afterwards Jahāndār Shāh) obtained the government of Multān and the Prince’s standards reached Sīwistān Dīn Muḥammad withdrew his head from obedience and did not wait upon the Prince At last after swearing on the Qur’ān he summoned Dīn Muḥammad and two of his relatives After the three had come, he drew up an army to bind and bring those who had remained behind with their wives and children Yār Muḥammad the younger brother of Dīn Muḥammad quickly sent his family into the inaccessible parts of the hills and prepared to give battle The Prince’s army was defeated and Yār Muḥammad became bold and taking up a position in the defiles prepared for battle The Prince was contented with imprisoning the three men and returned to Multān There he gave orders for putting the three men to death Thereafter Yār Muḥammad became more and more powerful he took possession of Sīwistān and took from its old landowners Sibī Dara—which is an extensive area running from Sindh to Qandahār, as also

The *Darbār-i-Akbarī* says on what authority it is not known, that Khudāwand Khān’s offence was a violent dispute with his servants which led to his behaving presumptuously in Akbar’s *Darbār* Khudāwand Khān was married to Abūl Fadl’s sister In *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* De’s edition, Text II p 445 translation II p 672, it is stated that he died in 995 A H

¹ It is Latī in *Maāthir ul-Umarā* III p 312 ‘Abbās was the Prophet Muhammad’s uncle

² For Kalhōra see *Imperial Gazetteer* XXII p 398

³ The Indus from the junction of the Punjab rivers to Sihwān is called Sarā, vide Elliot I p 526 the Sirai or Tālpūr tribe see *Imperial Gazetteer* XXII p 398 Sirāikī is a dialect of Sind

⁴ This is a tribe in Larkāna see *Imperial Gazetteer* XVI p 139

⁵ See Blochmann’s detailed note in his translation of *Ā’in* I (2nd edn), pp 280, 281

other estates Day by day his star rose higher and higher Apparently in Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar's time he received the title of Khudāyār Khān and a *manṣab* He died in the end of that reign Among his descendants there were two principal ones—Shaiḫ Nūr Muḥammad and Shaiḫ Dā'ūd For some time there was strife between the two brothers At last Shaiḫ Nūr Muḥammad prevailed and sat in his father's place He made peace with his brother and assigned him a part of the estate Shaiḫ Nūr Muḥammad received from the Court his father's title of Khudāyār Khān, and had a *manṣab* His power exceeded that of all his predecessors His pomp and grandeur reached the highest point, and he brought most of the *zamīndārs* under his power In the earlier years of his rule he fought severe battles with the *Dā'ūd-pūtras*—the *Zamīndārs* of Shikārpūr—and was victorious He drove out that tribe from their original abodes with their wives and children to the number of 6 to 7,000 men and women The *Dā'ūd-pūtras* had been confirmed in the *zamīndārī* of Shikārpūr in the time of Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn The reason for this was that when the Prince sent an army against Bakhtiyār Khān the *Zamīndār* of Shikārpūr, a body of the *Dā'ūd-pūtras* accompanied it and did good service, and cut off the head of Bakhtiyār Khān and brought it to him The Prince as a reward for this service made over that country to them 'Abdullāh Khān Barauhī the ruler of Kalāt²—which is a strong fort between Sindh and Qandahār—was always making attacks on Khudāyār Khān's territory, and every year levied a tribute Khudāyār Khān in the year 1143 A H (1730-31 A D) proceeded against 'Abdullāh Khān, who was unique for courage He came out of Kalāt with a small force and having crossed the boundaries of his territory, met the enemy and a severe battle ensued By Divine decree he was killed on the field, but though Khudāyār Khān took some of the dependencies of Kalāt he, on account of the mountainous nature of the region, could not capture Kalāt After this victory he received from Court the title of Khudāyār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang and the rank of 5,000 and the gift of drums (*naubat*, i.e. he was allowed to have music played) and a robe of honour In 1149 A H (1736 A D) the government of the province of Thatha and the Sarkār of Bhakkar were conferred on him The whole of the country of the Tarkhāns and additional territory came into his possession

When Nādir Shāh resolved to march against India he wrote to Khudāyār Khān to allow him a passage through his territory Khudāyār Khān refused and fortified the passes so that Nādir Shāh had to invade India *via* Kābul After his return to Kābul, as he was displeased with Khudāyār Khān, he turned his courser's reins towards Sindh When the news of Nādir Shāh's arrival at Dēra Ghāzī Khān—which is 30 *los* from Multān—reached Khudāyār Khān, he decided to retire from his own territories He went off to deserts and sandy places which an army could not traverse His intention was to return after Nādir Shāh left Sind With this design he marched from Khudāābād and Sīwistān with all his family and the tribe of Kalhōra and his *Sardārs* and came to Amarkōt which is a strong fort On hearing this Nādir Shāh made a rapid march and came to Amarkōt Khudāyār Khān saw no remedy but to submit and came and waited upon Nādir Shāh After Nādir Shāh had

¹ In *Imperial Gazetteer* XXII p 398 it is stated that he got the title from Aurangzib

² In Balūchistān, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 305

reproached him he said "Why did you run away from me?" Khudāyār Khān replied "We from the time of our forefathers were the servants of the King of India, if we had shown an inclination for you, you would not have believed us." This saying was approved and accepted, and in the same interview Nādir Shāh gave him the good news of his territory being restored to him.¹ After taking goods, etc., Nādir Shāh returned to him one-third of the territory, and gave one share to the Dā'ūd-pūtras and the third share to the *Zamīndārs* of Bhakkar. Some time before this was written Ghulām Shāh and Sarafarāz Khān his son—who were related to Khudāyār Khān—managed the government of this province, and at present also it is in their hands.

KHUSHHĀL BĒG KĀSHGHARĪ

(Vol I pp 773, 774)

In the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he held² the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and was out with Sultān Murād Baksh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. After Balkh was taken and the Prince returned to India Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullah Khān was appointed to settle the country there and he and other Kāshgharīs were appointed to the *thānadārī* of Shērpūr³ and Sām Chārēk. In the 20th year at the instance of Jumlat-ul-Mulk his rank was raised to 1,500⁴ with 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was sent off with Prince Aurangzib to Qandahār and there along with Rustam Khān and Qulij Khān he distinguished himself in the battle with the Persians. In the 23rd year his rank was 2,000 with 1,200 horse and in the 25th year he went off again with the Prince on the above-mentioned expedition. In the 28th year he was sent, along with Jumlat-ul-Mulk against Chittōr and displayed great rapidity of movement. Afterwards he went off with Khalil Khān to chastise the *Zamīndār* of Srinagar (Garhwāl), and in the end of the 31st year he went to Mālwa, and showed courage and loyalty in conjunction with Jaswant Singh in opposing the march of the troops of the Deccan when Prince Aurangzib was reported to be proceeding to inquire after the health of his honoured father. Afterwards in the battle of Sāmūgarh he was attached to the stirrups of Sultān Dārā Shikōh. His subsequent career is not known.

¹ See also *Maāthir ul Umarā*, III, p 312, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 391, note 2. There is an account of Nādir Shāh's dealing with Khudāyār Khān in Elliot, VIII, p 97. The life of Nādir Shāh which Sir William Jones translated into French in 1773 is the same as that used by the author of the *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, viz., *Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā-i Nādirī* by Muḥammad Mahdī bin Muḥammad Nāsir Astrābādī (see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian MSS. As Soc. Bengal*, 1924, p 30). Nādir Shāh's invasion of Sindh is described there on pp 260-263 (*As Soc. Bengal's* edn of 1845). Nādir Shāh visited Amarkōt in February, 1740, *vide* Elliot, VIII, p 99, but 1152 in that work on p 98 should be 1153. For Amarkōt see *Ākbar-nāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p 55, note 4.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 460. Two years before this he got a present of Rs 2,000, *op cit*, p 342.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 565, has Sarpul and Sām Chārēk. It also calls Khushhāl Bēg, the son of Mirzā Sharaf-ud Dīn Husam perhaps the officer who was the Kōtwāl of Delhi, *op cit*, p 110.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 595.

KHUSRAU BĒ

(Vol I, pp 673-675)

He was an Ūzbek *quruqchī*¹ His ancestors were men of wealth and power in Tūrān, and always held their heads high through their rank and wealth They also had a name for bravery He too possessed this quality When he came² to India, he was greatly favoured by Jahāngir and promoted to a high office As marks of sense and ability were apparent in him he was made *faujdār* of Delhī³ and Nārñol which are hotbeds of strife and sedition They say that he had 400 plumed (*qarquradār*) Ūzbek troopers mounted on Turkish horses, they were all brave men In carrying out the duties of this magistracy, he did not neglect one iota of what was necessary for putting down the disturbers of the peace He cleared the country of the weeds and rubbish of rebels, and was applauded by the Court When in the 8th year of Jahāngir's reign, Ajmēr became the abode of royalty, the heir-apparent⁴ (Shāh Jahān) was sent with an army against the Rānā and Khusrāu Bē was enrolled among the auxiliaries, and did good service The Prince loaded him with favours, and his rank and influence were increased The Prince wrote a commendatory letter about him to the Court When Shāh Jahān by the strength of his good fortune established *thānas* in the hilly country of the Rānā, Khusrāu Bē was appointed to do the *thānadār's* work There he died a natural death He had a magnanimous disposition and every day he caused food to be prepared for the soldiers, and every one who did not appear at his table was put down as absent⁵ (without leave) He was very liberal with gifts and rewards A horse he regarded as if it were a goat He changed nothing of what had been his customs and habits in Tūrān

KHUSRAU SULTĀN

(Vol I, pp 767-772)

He was the son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān When in the year 1051 A D (1641-42 A D) the *Khutba* of Transoxiana was recited in the name of Nadhr Muḥammad, he in concert with his eldest son 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān occupied with complete assurance the *maṣnad* of Khānship at Bokhārā, and carried on the administration along the right path In the year 1055 A H he went to Qarshī⁶ and took possession of Urganj, the ruler of which, Isfandiyār Khān had died Nadhr Muḥammad's elder brother Imām Qulī Khān had paid great deference to the Ūzbeks and left to them the realization

¹ A sentinel at the entrance to the female apartments, a game keeper

² Vide Rogers and Beveridge's translation of the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, I, p 206

³ Vide Rogers and Beveridge, *op cit*, p 229, where Mēwār is apparently a mistake for Mēwāt

⁴ Vide Rogers and Beveridge, *op cit*, p 256

⁵ Presumably his pay was reduced, see article *Qhair hāzirī* in Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p 25

⁶ Isfandiyār died in 1053 A H (1643 A D) He was the son of 'Arab Muḥammad and brother of Abūl Ghāzī

of the revenues and the settlement of Transoxiana and had been content with the name of *Khān* Nadhr Muḥammad now called upon them for the payment of the revenues of Imām Qulī's time. That contumacious and independent tribe were annoyed and resolved to get rid of Nadhr Muḥammad and his son.¹ He received a hint of their union and resolved to throw a stone of separation in their midst. He appointed each of them to a different place. He gave Samargand and its dependencies to 'Abdul 'Azīz and appointed Bēg Oghlī as his guardian and Khusrāu Bēg as his *Dī'ān* Tashikand² and its dependencies he gave to his third son Bahrām and appointed Bāqī Yūz as his guardian. He appointed Nadhr Bē, the guardian of Imām Qulī *Khān*—who had great influence among the Ūzbegs and whom he regarded as the chief of the sedition-mongers in the government of Balkh. Qandūz, which is the capital of Badakhshān, he gave to Khusrāu Sultān. Kahmard and its dependencies and the Hazārajāt—which had long belonged to Ilangtōsh—he took away in spite of the fact that no faults had been committed and made them over to his fourth son Subhān Qulī, and made Tardī 'Alī Qatān his guardian. He also resumed many fiefs and made them remunerative. He also resumed many old *Madad-i-ma'āsh*³ (subsistence-allowances) tenures and *Suyūrghāls* on pretext of the grants having been forged, and took possession of them himself.

Inasmuch as his dominion had come to an end, and his fortune was proceeding to a fall, he, for some reasons, annoyed the *Khawājas* of Tūrān, whom everybody whether high and low, regarded with respect, and with this design he made every pasturage *qurq* (i.e., reserved) for his own cattle and would not allow these to be used by any one else. Consequently all the people became disaffected. Though 'Abdul 'Azīz, his son and heir, tried to induce him to make, like Imām Qulī, Bokhārā his headquarters, and to give him Balkh, Nadhr Muḥammad refused on the ground that he had spent forty years in Balkh, and the climate agreed with him, and it was disagreeable for him to leave the place and the treasures accumulated during so many years. He also annoyed his son by thwarting him in his designs, and in the non-recognition of truth he shut his eyes to the wishes of the leaders of Balkh—who during a long period had not omitted the smallest office of loyalty, and were naturally expecting favours and graciousness. He also disregarded all the precepts of skill and caution and when any one of his well-wishers gave him a secret hint about the disaffected, he in his shallowness divulged the matter and thus ashamed and discredited his informers. At last the whole of Tūrān and all the Tūrāniyāns suddenly broke out into rebellion and beat the drum of opposition, and recited the *Khutba* of Transoxiana in the name of 'Abdul 'Azīz, while the *Almānān*, who were looking for an opportunity, proceeded to pillage and destroyed many establishments (*kārkhānājāt* or manufactories). At last Nadhr Muḥammad came to an agreement with his son that he himself will keep the government of Transoxiana, while that Balkh and Badakhshān will belong to 'Abdul

¹ That is, his eldest son 'Abdul 'Azīz. The union here spoken of was that of his sons, and so he sent them to different places. The account in the *Madāthir-ul-Umarā* is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 435, etc.

² Tashkent in Ferghana in modern atlases.

³ For *Madad-i-ma'āsh* and *Suyūrghāls*, see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 278-280.

'Azīz, and that there should be peace. But on account of the double-mindedness of the Ūzbegs, and the insolence of Almānān he was in daily fear of his life and property. He left off hunting and for a time shut himself up in the fort of Balkh. When Jahāngīr died, and his heir Shāh Jahān was far off in Junair in the Deccan, Nadhr Muḥammad thought the field was empty and in his hot-headedness and arrogance led a large army to conquer Kābul. Though it did not succeed, and he had to make a shameful retreat before the pressure of the victorious imperial troops, yet he stretched out the hand of oppression over the inhabitants of the towns and districts, and every place that the Ūzbegs found unguarded was plundered. From that time it was impressed on Shāh Jahān's mind that it was necessary, according to the verse

Verse

Stones are the retribution of clod-throwers

That an army should be sent to Balkh and Badakhshān and that the ancestral properties should be recovered. On account of other occupations (in India) this design could not be carried out. At this time when spontaneously there arose confusion in the country, and the Almān infidels lighted the flames of oppression and by slaying the good and noble, and dishonouring their families made themselves deserving of condign punishment, Prince Murād Bakhsh¹ was sent off rapidly in the 19th year with 50,000 cavalry to conquer the country and to punish the unruly tribes. When the Prince had traversed the pass of Tūl and came to the plain of Sirā² the Ūzbegs and Almānān, who had ravaged the villages of the Badakhshānāt, and had made Khusrāu Sultān's position difficult, fled on hearing the sound of the victorious army. Khusrāu Sultān thought peace was best and came with his son Badī' Sultān and 2,000 house-holders of Qandūz—who had suffered from the ravages of the pillagers—and submitted to the Prince. When Khusrāu arrived near Andarāb the Amīr-ul-Umarā 'Alī Mardān Khān came and saluted him on horse-back. When Khusrāu entered the Prince's tent, the latter acted according to the royal orders and stepped to the edge of the carpet to receive him and place him near the *maṣnad* and showed him various attentions and kindnesses. He made him various presents, including Rs 50,000 in cash and sent him to the Court. Marḥamat Khān³, the son of Sādiq Khān deceased, was sent from the Court with four Arab and Persian horses with gilded saddles and valuable cloths from among the choice fabrics of India, together with a palanquin and *chahār dūlī* (litter) with silver poles and velvet lining for his ladies, and two complete advance-tents⁴ and directed to bring him with all honour to the Court. On 29 Rabī' II, 1056 A H, when he reached Kābul, the officer in charge Sa'd Ullāh Khān and Mīr Jalāl *Sadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr* went out to meet him and paid their respects. His request to be allowed to wait upon the Emperor

¹ For an account of Prince Murād Bakhsh's campaign in Transoxiana see Banarsī Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 195-201

² Thus apparently should be Sirāb, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 517. For Tūl see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp 399, 400

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 519, and Khāfi Khān, I, p 625

⁴ In *dū dast peshkhāna*, the word *dast* seems to be pleonastic

was granted After he had paid his respects, Shāh Jahān raised his head with the two hands and embraced him, and ordered him to be seated He showed him various favours and presented him with Rs 50,000 in cash and gave him a *manṣab* of 6,000 with 2,000 horse The house of Khān Daurān Bahādur with carpets and other splendid furniture was assigned to him His son Badī' Sultān, who was with him, received an annual allowance of Rs 12,000, and Khnsiau Sultān, who was a man of a feeble constitution and an opium-eater, and had long endured the oppressions of the Ūzbegs, never seen happiness, and never had had a moment's peace on account of his dread of the Almānān, suddenly arrived without care or effort at God-given comfort He at his ease tasted the joys of life He did not seek for service Sometimes in Lāhōre and sometimes in Shāhjahānābād (Delhī) and occasionally in attendance on the Sovereign he passed ¹ his time In the 26th year he was removed from ² his *manṣab* and received a pension of a lac of 1 rupees In this year his son Badī' Sultān was raised to the *manṣab* of 1,000 with 200 horse At the end of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank was 2,500

KHWĀJA JAHĀN HERĀTĪ

(Vol I, pp 630-632)

He was Khwāja Amīn-ud-Dīn Mahmūd, and was known as Amīnā He was a pioneer in the science of accounts He wrote *shikasta* very beautifully, and was exceedingly acute and careful in the valuation of property and in the correctness of his calculations He was attached to Humāyūn's stirrups during the journey to Persia, and later was always the recipient of royal favours and for some time was the *Bakhshī* of Prince Muḥammad Akbar When Akbar ascended the throne, he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of Khān Jahān³ For a long time the administration of the kingdom was carried on in accordance with his sage advice

When Akbar left him and Mun'im Khān and Muzaffar Khān, in Karra Mānikpūr, to put in order the affairs of Khān Zamān Shaibānī, and returned to Āgra, and the officers neglecting the administration of that part of the country proceeded to the Court in the beginning of the 11th year, Muzaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah and arrived first at the Court He reported ⁴ the double-dealings of the officers, and Khwāja Jahān was censured and the royal Grand Seal—which was the insignia of his office—was taken from him, and he was dismissed to the Hījāz Later, on the intercession of the courtiers, the Khwāja's offences were forgiven In the 19th year, 981 A H, when the royal standards advanced to take Hājipūr and Patna, the Khwāja owing to indisposition remained in Jaunpūr When Akbar returned victorious to Jaunpūr

¹ Khāfī Khān, I, p 695² Khāfī Khān, I, p 716³ So in the text, but this is a mistake for Khwāja Jahān For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), p 467, 468⁴ *Albarnāma*, Text II, p 270, Beveridge's translation II, p 401 In the text it is stated that Muzaffar Khān made a rapid journey from Etāwah, but according to the *Albarnāma*, Muzaffar Khān hurried to Etāwah and there denounced the other officers

and proceeded towards Āgra, a *mast* elephant ran at the Khwāja in Jaunpūr His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell His condition at once became critical, and in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, 982 A H (January, 1575 A D) he died in Lucknow Mirzā Bēg, whose *takhalluṣ* was Sipihrī¹ and had a good poetical vein, was the Khwāja's brother's son As he had acquired *tawakkul* (reliance upon God), he withdrew from service and lived in retirement He died in 989 A H They say that he secretly used to help the needy This verse is his

Verse²

Remove by a smile the poison of thine angry eyes,
For they sweeten with salt when the almond is bitter

KHWĀJA JAHĀN KĀBULI

(Vol I, pp 672, 673.)

His name was Khwāja Dōst Muḥammad, and he was a native of Kābul When Jahāngīr was the heir apparent, he was his *Divān* As his daughter was married to the Prince, he became distinguished above his fellows After the accession he obtained high rank and the title of Khwāja Jahān He conducted his duties well and became a favourite Whenever Jahāngīr went out to hunt near Āgra, the Khwāja was left in charge of the fort and city They say that after the morning prayer the spiritual *Mathnavi Ma'navi*³ of the Maulānā of Rūm (Jalāl-ud-Dīn) was read in his assemblage for four *gharīs* After that he attended to work, and by his discernment and knowledge of business disposed of disputes Some of his decisions are amusing They say that a man complained that the wife of his brother, who was impotent, had taken possession of the property asserting that her child was her husband's When she was asked, she said it was true that her husband was without sperm, but that she, on the advice of a *Hakīm*, had for forty days given him the head of the *Rūkhū*⁴ fish to eat This had produced virility The Khwāja ordered that two grooms should make the child run up and down, and catch the sweat of his face and body in a handkerchief When the handkerchief became wet he took and smelt it It smelt of fish, and those present all confirmed this On another⁵ occasion, they say that a person picked up

¹ Blochmann, *op cit*, who says that his *takhalluṣ* was Shahrī But it is Sipihrī in Badāyūnī *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh*, Text III, p 241 See also *Darbār-i Akbari*, p 722

² This verse and others are given in Badāyūnī, *op cit*, p 241 Probably the salt in the second line is the white row of teeth seen in the smile, the *bādām* or almond may mean the eyes

³ For details of this work see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat Persian, MSS As Soc Bengal*, 1924, pp 216-218 Jāmi has said about this *Mathnavi*

منسوبی مولوی معنوی هست فغان در زبان پهلوی
من چه گویم وصف آن عالیجناب نیست بیغیر ولی دارد کتاب

⁴ The famous Indian Carp *Labeo rohita* (Ham-Buch)

⁵ This is a familiar story

a purse on the road and restored it intact to the owner. That silly and avaricious man complained that half of his money had been taken out. When this dispute was brought before the Khwāja he ordered that the purse be given to the finder, adding that it was a windfall for him and he said to the owner, "Yours must have been a different purse." He at once became penitent and confessed that his money was so much. When it was counted it was found all right (i.e., the amount was what the owner had stated). The Khwāja died¹ a natural death. He built a stately mansion in Agra. Among his sons, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd held a *jāgīr* and a *mansab* till the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. He did not possess discretion. Mirzā 'Arif (another son) was handsome and agreeable. He had no rival as a polo player. He was on terms of intimacy with Jahāngīr. The flower of his life perished in its spring (i.e., he died in his youth).

KHWĀJA JAHĀN KHAWĀRĪ

(Vol I, pp 748, 749)

His name was Khwāja Jān, and he was one of the old servants of Shāh Jahān. When after the receipt of the news of the death of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān moved from Junar and arrived near Ahmadābād he made the Khwāja, who was exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 600 horse, *Dīān* of Gujarāt. In the end of the 4th year he begged to be allowed to visit the holy places, and this was granted. As the King had allocated five lacs of rupees to be sent to the needy in those blessed places, he ordered² that the officers of Gujarāt should make over to the Khwāja, who was known for his honesty, 2 lacs and 40,000 rupees worth of such goods as would be saleable at the two holy places. He was to sell these goods and distribute the price (i.e., the capital and the profit) to the poor there. In the 9th year he returned and presented nine Arab horses as a *pēshkash*. In the 12th³ year he was removed from the *Dīānī* of Gujarāt and died in the 17th⁴ year, 1053 A H (1643-44 A D).

KHWĀJA⁵ QULI KHĀN BAHĀDAR

(Vol I, pp 834, 835)

Son of Nadīr Bē who was one of the nobles of Tūrān. He came to Aurangzib on an embassy from there. On his return, he sent Yūlbāras Khān his eldest son to India for service. After his death, his second son Bēglar Bēgī Khān came with his dependants to his elder brother. The

¹ The authors of the *Maāthir ul Umarā* apparently used only the first volume of *Tūzūl i Jahāngīrī*. Khwāja Jahān died in the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Jahāngīr gives an account of him in his Memoirs, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūl i Jahāngīrī*, II, pp 121, 122, note. His being in charge of Agra is mentioned on p 67.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p 406. Hakīm Masīh uz Zamān was associated with him. His name was Khwāja Jān or Mullā Khwāja Jān, but his title was Khwāja Jahān. There is a special notice of him in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 333. He was a native of Bihār.

³ Should be the 11th year, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p 105.

⁴ *Op cit*, p 728. His rank was 2,000 with 600 horse.

⁵ Khwājam in the Text.

Khān at that time was a suckling Bēglar Bēgī during the days of power of the Saivids of Bārāh, became *faujdār* and governor of the fort of Māndū, in succession to Marhamat Khān. He also went there with his brother. In 1136 A H when Nizām-ul-Mulk, after his second *Vazīrship*, requested leave from Muhammad Shāh and went off to the Deccan,¹ he joined him on the way. After the battle² with Mubārīz Khān he got a sief in the province of Burhānpūr, and spent his time as *faujdār* of Sarkār Khargōn³ in the province of Khāndēsh. In the beginning of the rule of the martyred Nāsir Jang, he was made deputy-governor of Berār, but after some months he was removed. After that he was at one time *faujdār* of Baglāna, and at another deputy-governor of Burhānpūr. In the time of Salāhat Jang, he received the title of Dhūlfaqār-ud-Daula Qā'im Jang. When Khāndēsh came into the possession of the Mahrattas, he went away in distress to Salāhat Jang in Haidarābād. He received the pargana of Jalgāon⁴ in Berār in sief, and went off there. After some days he died in 1179 A H (1765 A D). Āsaf Jāh treated him with distinction, and when he paid his respects put his hand on his head. But he was very reserved. He composed simple verses and had the pen-name of Mauzūn.

This verse is his

Verse

Whene'er without thee I visit the rose-border,
The perfume of the bud and the flower gives me a headache

None of his sons attained any position. They passed away at various intervals after their father's death. But Khwāja Qudrat Ullāh is still alive.

KHAWWĀS KHĀN BAKHTIYĀR KHĀN DECCANI

(Vol I, pp 774, 775)

He took up service in the reign of Jahāngīr, and in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign was honoured by being appointed as the *faujdār* of Lakhī Jangal⁵ and Thārali in place of Saidā Khān. In the 12th year, when the King had reached the borders of the Panjāb, he was honoured by being permitted to offer his allegiance. In the 14th year he was removed from that office and appointed an auxiliary of the *Sūba* of Bihār. In the 16th year he was exalted by being appointed as the *faujdār* of Tirhat (Tirhūt) in the *Sūba* of Bihār. In the 20th year he was granted a *Khil'at*, and a horse, and was ordered to Badakhshān. In the 21st year he returned to the Court, and was honoured by being appointed

¹ For details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, pp 131-137. He took leave from the Emperor on 17th December, 1723.

² Battle of Shakar Kherra on 11th October, 1924, see Irvine *op cit*, p 145. Shakarkhelda in *Cambridge History of India* IV, p 350.

³ There was a Khargōn in Bijāgarh Sarkār, Mālwa see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p 206. Now in Indore, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p 251.

⁴ In Sarkār Narnāla, see Jarrett, *op cit*, p 234, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 28.

⁵ *Lakhī Jangal* was the extensive uncultivated area south of the Sutlej, see Irvine's detailed note in *Manucci*, IV, p 426.

as the *faujdar* and *tiyāldār* of Mandsūr in Mālwa. In the 23rd year when the *Sūbadārī* of Mālwa was granted to Shāh Nawāz Khān, and that of Mandsūr to Mirzā Muhammad, son of Mir Badī' of Mashhad, who was the son-in-law of the said Khān, he was transferred from there and appointed as an auxiliary in the Deccan forces. In the siege of Gōlcōnda he served with Sultān Muḥammad Aurangzib, and when later the said Prince was nominated as the Governor, he was granted the rank of 2,000, 1,500 horse and the title of Khawwās Khān. And in the series of battles which took place between Aurangzib and Muḥārāja Jaswant Singh and the rivals for the kingdom,¹ he attended the royal stirrups, and later went to Bihār on being appointed to that *Sūba*. And when before the second coronation² the fort of Chmūr³ was delivered from the hands of Sayid Abū Muḥammad a servant of Sultān Shujā', he was appointed as the guardian of that fort and in the 2nd year was removed⁴ from that office. Nothing further is known about him.

KIRAT SINGH

(Vol III, pp 156-158)

He was the second son of Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh. When the seditious Mewās of Kāmā', Pahāri and Kōh Mujāhid between Āgra and Shāhjahānābād troubled the residents and travellers in the tract, and the parganas were going to waste on account of their attacks and the fief holders were put into difficulty, Kirat Singh was, in the end of the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign raised to the rank of 800 with 800 horse and the district in question was assigned to him as his fief and residence. An order was sent to the Mirzā Rāja to extirpate the wicked crowd (the Mewās) and to plant his own men there in their stead. The Rāja made the place his home and came with 4,000 cavalry and 6,000 musketeers and archers and proceeded to cut down the jungle. He put many of the contumacious inhabitants to the sword and made prisoners of a large number of them. A large quantity of cattle fell into his hands. Those who escaped the sword were expelled. The Rāja received the rank of 1,000 horse two-horse and three-horse, and the pargana Hāl Kalyān⁶,

¹ Battle of Dharmat, 26th April 1658, and the battles with his brothers in the War of Succession. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, II, p 348-612, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp 222-228.

² 16th June, 1659. For details of the coronation see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 613-624.

³ *Ālamqirnāma*, p 349. The name of the fort is given as Chanāda.

⁴ Shujā' Khān was appointed his successor, see *Ālamqirnāma*, p 418.

⁵ The Kāmāh of the *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation, II, pp 96 and 195, Pahāri and Kōh Mujāhid are also mentioned there. They were in Sarkār Sahār and province of Āgra see also Elliot's *Supp Glossary*, II, pp 102, 103. The Sarkār is sometimes called Pahāri. For the Mewās or Meos see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p 313. Kāmā is the Kāman of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 325. It is now in the Bharat-pūr State, and is 39 miles N W Mathurā. In Khāfi Khān, I, p 701, mention is made of the attack upon the Mōwātīs by the Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh's son who is there called Kēsari Singh.

⁶ This should be Chāl Kalānah in Nārml Sarkār, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp 97 and 194. See *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, III, p 573, where the revenue of Chāl Kalāna is mentioned as 70,000 *dāms*. It was really much more, being over 7½ krons according to Jarrett, *op cit*, p 194. See also the article Kalāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p 307. It is now in the Jmd State.

the revenue of which was 80 lacs of *dāms*, was assigned to him to pay for the increase Kīrat Singh¹ also had an increase of rank and was made *faujdār* of Mēwāt

As the cypruss of his talent grew by the stream of the Mīrzā Rāja and the plant of his intelligence was nourished in the garden of knowledge of that great man, his tact and skill soon became impressed on the mind of the King In the 28th year when the royal standards came to Ajmēr he received the rank of 1,000 with 900 horse and was sent off to guard the Capital After the end of the 30th year when the buildings of Faīdābād known as Mukhlispūr in pargana Muzaffarābād Sarkār Sahāranpūr² were nearly completed on the banks of the Jumnā near the northern hills—which are in the vicinity of the Sirmūr hills—the King often visited that delightful place which was 47 *kos* from the Capital, Kīrat Singh was sent off to guard the environs of Shāhjahānābād When his father separated from the Sulamān Shikōh, and was proceeding to join Aurangzīb, Kīrat Singh, who, after the battle with Dārā Shikōh, had gone to his home, joined his father and entered into service with him He received a flag and was sent off to put down the Mēwāt rebels For a time he was *faujdār* of the Metropolitan district Afterwards he did good service along with his father in conquering Sīvā's territory, and with 3,000 men erected batteries in front of the fortress of Purandhar³

When Sīvā submitted, and all the officers of the army received royal favours, Kīrat Singh obtained the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse Afterwards, when the Mīrzā Rāja went off to attack Bījāpūr, and the *Ilīmish* was under Kīrat Singh's charge, he fought bravely with the Bījāpūrīs, and when the Mīrzā Rāja died in Burhānpūr, he came to the Court and received drums, and the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse He again joined the Deccan auxiliaries and spent a long time in that country In the 16th year, 1084 A H (1673 A D) he died⁴

(RĀJA) KISHAN SINGH⁵ BHADĀWARIYA

✕

(Vol II, pp 228-230)

Bhadāwar is a tract three *kos* from Āgra, and the inhabitants of this area receive their name from it This tribe is bold and undaunted, and formerly it was turbulent Akbar had the head of the tribe trodden under the feet of elephants⁶ After this they were always law-abiding

¹ It is mentioned in Elliot's *Supp Glossary*, II, p 103, that Kīrat Singh got the parganas of Sarkār Sahār in fief from Shāh Jahān

² Sarāngpūr given in a note as a variant is incorrect

³ Purandar of the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 254, is famous for the masterly campaign of Rāja Jai Singh against Shivājī in 1665 It is now a military sanatorium in Poona district, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, pp 306, 397

⁴ *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, p 128 According to Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn) II, p 288, Kīrat Singh poisoned his father at the instigation of Aurangzīb, and was rewarded by the gift of the district of Kamah See, however, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp 128, 129, where the death of Jai Singh and his character are discussed in detail

⁵ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn), pp 547, 548 بودوریہ

in the Text

⁶ The only reference to the expedition against the tribe in *Albarnāma* is in Vol II, text, p 78, Beveridge's translation, pp 119-120, where Adham Khān is stated to have been appointed to subdue the country and punish the seditious tribe

and did service. In the time of the said King, Mukhtam Bhadāwariya was the head of the tribe and held the rank of 1,000. In the time of Jahāngīr the chief was Rāja Bikramājīt who accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān in the campaign against the Rānā and afterwards was appointed to the Deccan. He died in the 11th year and his son Bhōj came from the Deccan and did homage. In Shāh Jahān's time the chief was Kishan Singh. He in the 1st year served with Mahābat Khān in the affair of Jughār Singh and in the 3rd year he was sent off with Shāhista Khān to devastate the country of Nizām-ul Mulk who had given protection to Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 6th year he did good service in the siege of Daulatābād and in the 9th he went with Khān Zamān to punish Sāhū Bhōnsle. In the 17th year corresponding to 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he died. As he had no son except one by a concubine Badan Singh his uncle's grandson received a robe of honour and was granted the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāja. In the 21st year he had one day gone to pay his respects at the *Darshan* (the King appearing in the *Jharōla*) when suddenly a *mast* elephant ran at him and pinned one of his retainers under his tusks. The Rāja boldly struck the elephant with his dagger and as a fireball (*charlhi*) was discharged at the same time, the Rāja escaped injury and his retainer was released. The Rāja was rewarded by the gift of a robe of honour and the remission of Rs. 50,000 out of a *peshlash* (tribute) of two lacs of rupees which he had agreed to pay when he was confirmed in his chiefship. In the 22nd year he had an increase of 500 and went off in attendance of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur to the Qandahār campaign. In the 25th year he again accompanied the said Prince, and in the 26th year he was sent with Prince Dārā Shukōh on the same expedition. In the 27th year he died. His son Mahā Singh attained the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse and was granted the title of Rāja, and the gift of a horse. In the 28th year he was appointed to Kābul and in the 31st year he had the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. Afterwards, when Aurangzib became victorious and Dārā Shukōh was defeated, the Rāja entered the Emperor's service, and in the 1st year of his reign he went with Subkarn Bundēla against Champat Bundēla. In the 10th year he did good service with Kamāl Khān in chastising the Yūsufzā'ī tribe, and as a reward 500 of his troopers were made two-horse and three-horse. He died in the 26th year. His son Uday Singh—who had already been in the King's service and a favourite and had been appointed to accompany the Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh in the Deccan campaign—was in the 24th year made governor of the fort of Chittōr. On the death of his father he obtained the title of Rāja.

KISHAN SINGH RĀTHŌR

(Vol. III, pp. 150–152)

He was a half-brother² of the well-known Rāja Sūraj Singh and full-brother of the mother of Shāh Jahān. By virtue of this great relationship, he, in the time of Jahāngīr, became an intimate courtier and rose to

¹ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 134 under *Charlhi*.

² 'allātī a half brother in Text, but Jahāngīr calls him his own or full brother, see Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 291. The biography of Sūraj Singh Rāthōr called Soor Singh by Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p. 29, is given in *Maāthur ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 179–183.

a high position. He behaved treacherously and maliciously to his elder brother who was one of the pillars of the State. It happened that Gōbind Dās Bhātī—who was Rāja Sūraj Singh's agent and manager—killed, on account of a quarrel, Gōpāl Dās the Rāja's brother's son. As the Rāja (Sūraj Singh) was very fond of him, he did not resort to vengeance for the murder. Kishan Singh was annoyed at this indulgence, and lay in wait looking for an opportunity to avenge his nephew. In the 10th year of Jahāngīr, 1024 A H., when the royal camp was at Ajmēr, on a day when Jahāngīr visited the Pushkar lake, Kishan Singh got on horseback before morning with the intention of exacting retribution and came to the place where Rāja Sūraj Singh was staying. He sent some of his tried men on foot to the quarters of Gōbind Dās, and they attacked a party of men who were on guard there. During the tumult Gōbind Dās awoke, and came out without previous warning from one side of the house. Kishan Singh's men—who were searching for him—killed him as soon as they saw him. Kishan Singh, as he did not yet know what had happened, came on foot in great agitation and anger to the place, and though men warned him, it was of no use. Meanwhile Rāja Sūraj Singh also awoke and came out with a sword in his hand, and sent his men to oppose. In the tumult, Kishan Singh and some of his men were killed. The others got to their horses and escaped. The Rāja's men followed and a hot fight took place in front of the royal window (*gharōla*). Whosoever's head was struck by the scimitar (*shamshēr*), it was cut down to the waist, and whenever the swords (*tēghhā*) of Indian steel reached the waist the body was divided into two. Sixty-eight¹ Rājput̃s of the two parties displayed the devotion of their life. They say that from that day the scimitars of Sirōhī² are held in respect, and are sought after. Jahāngīr, after this catastrophe, divided his (Kishan Singh's) *manṣab* among his sons and confirmed them in the possession of his native place of Kishangarh.³

LASHKAR KHĀN⁴

(Vol III, pp 161-163)

His name was Muḥammad Husam Khurāsānī, and in the reign of Akbar he held the rank of 2,000 and was *Mīr Bakshī*, and *Mīr 'Arqī* (Superintendent of petitions). In the 11th year he was removed from his office on account of charges brought against him by Muzaffar Khān Turbatī. In the 16th year he insolently came in open daylight drunk to the *Darbār* and created a disturbance. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was, in spite of his high rank and connections, led round

¹ In Jahāngīr's Memoirs, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, *op cit*, p 293, the number is given as 66, viz. 30 on Rāja Sūraj Singh's side and 36 on Kishan Singh's. Perhaps the author of the text has added Kishan Singh and his nephew Karan. Tod, *op cit*, p 33, refers to the slaying of Govindas and ascribes it to the instigation of Shāh Jahān when a Prince, and puts it near the end of Jahāngīr's reign!

² Capital of the native state of that name. It is 28 miles north of the Abū Road Station and 171 miles from Ajmēr (*vide Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p 37). The manufacture of swords is still carried on there. See Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, p 77.

³ *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p 317.

⁴ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp 446, 447, and Akbar *nāma*, Text II, p 364, Beveridge's translation, p 529.

tied to a horse's tail For some time he was imprisoned and then released He was appointed along with Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to take part in the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl In the battle with Dā'ūd Kararānī, who had laid a claim to those areas, he was in the centre and supported the Commander-in-Chief and was severely wounded Though his wounds healed, he, for want of care, died in Bengāl He was a man of wealth and had a thousand mounted servants of his own

The excessive punishments imposed by the Emperor may seem to savour of wrath, for the rule with wise kings—who regard capital punishment, etc., as inseparable from their position—is to apportion chastisement according to the (rank of the) individual Some they rebuke only by a stern glance or a frown, another they reprimand by a severe talk, another they punish by blows of the fist, while still another they chastise by the whip and the stick As some one has well said

Quatrain

If it be necessary to punish some one,
 'Tis wrong to chastise every one in equal measure
 O players on the instrument ¹ of justice,
 Beat the drum with the fist, the flute with the breath

But if we consider the idiosyncrasy of this pomp-loving man, the punishment was just, for in spite of all his high rank he endured such contemptuous treatment and out of his meanness of spirit did not relinquish service Yet many servants of inferior rank, at a frown or a harsh expression, give up their lives so as to preserve their honour, and so acquire undying fame

Reflection ² (or Warning)

As the idiosyncrasy of every person is distinctive, and moreover different people may have different notions of this idiosyncrasy, legal orders should not have reference to the personality but to the deed, and reward or punishment should be awarded accordingly

Verse

Each deed has its recompense and its retribution

LASHKAR KHĀN ABŪL HASAN MASHHADI

(Vol III, pp 163-168)

At first he was the *Dīrān* of Prince Sultān Murād On his death he came back from the Deccan and entered the service of Prince Sultān

¹ *Qānūn* which has two meanings, a musical instrument and a canon or law

² The sentence is obscure, and seems to contradict what has been stated earlier on The author first says that Lashkar Khān's punishment was justified by his peculiar nature and behaviour which showed that he was thick-skinned, and then he seems to say that legal orders must deal with the fact and not the personality But the explanation is that Akbar's order was not one of the *ahkām shar'īya*, but a special order and an exception which proves the rule Certainly the tying to a horse's tail was not a legal punishment We are reminded of the punishment Akbar inflicted when a boy, on some negligent dog-keepers, see *Albarnāma*, Text I, p 318, Beveridge's translation, I, pp 590, 591

Salim He did good service and thus formed the foundation of his good fortune When the Prince became King, Abūl Hasan received the title of Lashkar Khān and was granted a high office For a while he was *Divān* and *Balkhshī* of Afghānistān, but as Khān Daurān the Governor there disliked him, he was summoned to the Court Afterwards he was commissioned to chastise the Afghāns who were a stumbling-block to travellers between India and Kābul He did everything possible in the way of smiting and binding the robbers and highwaymen, and so put things straight In the 14th year, when Jahāngīr paid his first visit (as King) to Kashmīr, Lashkar Khān was granted a flag and drums, and entrusted to guard Āgra¹ When the imperial army marched in company with Prince Parvīz and under the leadership of Mahābat Khān in pursuit of Prince Shāh Jahān, Lashkar Khān was sent as an auxiliary to the army² of the Deccan When the army reached Burhānpūr, ‘Ādil Shāh the ruler of Bijāpūr made friends with Mahābat Khān on account of his enmity with Malik ‘Ambar, and sent his general Mullā Muḥammad Lārī with 5,000 horse to Burhānpūr³ Mahābat Khān left Rāo Ratan Sarbuland Rāi in charge of the city, and appointed Lashkar Khān with a number of other officers as his associates The control of affairs there was entrusted to Mullā Muḥammad Mahābat Khān himself hastened off with Prince Parvīz to Allahābād Malik ‘Ambar, who was waiting for the opportunity, proceeded to Bijāpūr and besieged it ‘Ādil Shāh engaged in strengthening the walls and fortifications and sent off couriers to summon Mullā Muḥammad He also wrote to Mahābat Khān that he hoped for his assistance in return for his loyalty, and he sent three lacs of *hūns*, which are about twelve lacs of rupees, for the expenses of the army In accordance with a letter from Mahābat Khān, Lashkar Khān left Sarbuland Rāi with a few men in the city and marched as the auxiliary of Mullā Muḥammad to extirpate Malik ‘Ambar Malik ‘Ambar heard of this and wrote to Lashkar Khān that he had not behaved presumptuously to the King’s servants, and asked why he was to be ill-treated There had long been a boundary dispute between him and ‘Ādil Shāh, and he asked that he might be allowed to settle matters with his adversary Whatever was fated would happen No answer was returned and the troops marched on to the neighbourhood of Bijāpūr Malik ‘Ambar was obliged to raise the siege and to proceed to his own territory Mullā Muḥammad followed him In proportion as Malik ‘Ambar showed a disposition to surrender, and to behave humbly, Mullā Muḥammad—believing that Malik ‘Ambar was weak and in distress—increased his acerbity and hostility When the situation for Malik ‘Ambar became critical and he was hard pressed, he was obliged to fight at the stage of Bhātūrī,⁴ five *kos* from Ahmadnagar It happened that Mullā Muḥammad was killed, and ‘Ādil Shāh’s forces were thrown into confusion Jādū Rāi and Ūdā Rām on the King’s side did not exert themselves in the

¹ Rogers and Beveridge’s translation of *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* II p. 81 On p. 87 it is stated that he was promoted to the mansab of 3,000 personal and 2,000 hereditary see p. 102

² Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 197

³ For a detailed account see Beni Prasad *History of Jahāngīr* pp. 370-373

⁴ In *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 236 the name of the place is not mentioned but it is stated that it was a distance of 5 *kos* from Ahmadnagar See also *Pratīk* I p. 348, and Beveridge’s translation of *Maūthir ul Umam* p. 269 note 3

sums of money there, he went to his native country, and became a sweeper of the holy threshold (of Mashhad) He founded *Serā'is* there, and bought many properties And there he died His sons remained in India His eldest son was Sazāwār Khān, of whom an account ¹ is given in this work Another son was Mirzā Lutf Ullāh He was a Sunnī and became *Bakhshī* of the Deccan One night when travelling in his palanquin someone suddenly attacked him with a dagger and killed him, and ran away It was never known as to who he was Lashkar Khān's son-in-law Bābā Mirak distinguished himself in Jahāngīr's time in the hills of the Kāngra range When Prince Shāh Jahān besieged Burhānpūr Bābā Mirak was with Rāo Ratan One day when Shāh Qulī Khān ² entered the city, he fought and was killed His son Latīf Mirak ended his life in governing the forts of Ankī ³ Tankī in the Deccan Outside the walls he had made a small garden and erected his tomb, and there he was buried

LASHKAR KHĀN, otherwise JĀN NIKHĀR KHĀN ⁴

(Vol III, pp 168-171)

His name was Yādgār Bēg and he was the son of Zabardast Khān ⁵ a *Wālā-Shāhī* (belonging to the bodyguard) of Shāh Jahān He became known in his father's lifetime, and did good service In the 19th year his rank was 1,000 with 200 horse and he was superintendent of the mace-bearers and of the *naqdī* officers In the same year he got an increase of 500 with 300 horse, and was honoured by the grant of the title of Jān Nithūr Khān There was always friendship between the house of Tīmūr and the great sovereigns of the Šafavī family, and the exchange of letters and messages and present was customary with them, but in the end of his reign Shāh Šafī became annoyed about the affair of Qandahār and severed the chain of old affection When he died, Shāh Jahān did not like that old relations should be altogether lost, and in the same year appointed Jān Nithār Khān as ambassador ⁶ to Persia He gave him and his companions two years' pay and sent them off with presents worth three and a half laes of rupees, and a letter of condolence ⁷ on Shāh Šafī's death and of congratulations on the accession of Shāh 'Abbās II, the son and successor of Shāh Šafī He also apologized for the coming to India of 'Alī Mardān Khān, who had not left (Qandahār) for any ambitious reasons or from a desire to enter service, but had been obliged to withdraw on account of the machinations of envious persons Jān Nithār Khān returned towards the end of the 21st year, and received the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse and the office of Master of the Horse In the 23rd year he was made *Mīr Tuzuk*, and in the 24th year he became 2nd *Bakhshī* in place of Sivādat Khān In the 25th year he had an increase of 500

¹ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, II, pp 438-441

² Also called Muhammad Taqī, the *Simsāz*, see *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, II, p 210

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt 2, p 165 These were 18 kos from Daulatābād, Elhot,

VII p 57

⁴ He should not be confused with Kamāl ud-Dīn Jān Nithār Khān of *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, I, pp 527-529

⁵ *Maāthir ul-Umarā*, II, pp 372, 373

⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp 492, 493, Khāfi Khān, I, p 620

⁷ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp 493-500, Benarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp 221,

with 300 horse, and received the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 26th year his rank was 3,000 with 1,000 horse and he was appointed *Bakhshī* of Prince Dārā Shukōh's army when it was sent on the Qandahār expedition. In the 27th year he was summoned to the Presence from Multān and appointed, as formerly, to the post of 2nd *Bakhshī*, in succession to Irādāt Khān. In the 29th year certain facts came out, which indicated a want of honesty on his part. It appeared that in the *Bakhshī* department he had opened the hand of covetousness and committed embezzlement. He was removed from office and his rank was reduced by 500. After that he was appointed to chastise the seditious elements in Hīṣān and Bikānīr. In the 31st year, on the death of 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā he was appointed governor of Kashmīr and received an increase of 500 horse. In the beginning of Aurangzīb's reign a robe of honour was sent to him and his rank was increased by 500, and 500 horse, so that he held the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. He was nominated governor of Multān, and in the 3rd year he was made governor of Sindh in succession to Qubād Khān. Later he was appointed governor of Bihār. In the 11th year he became governor of Multān in succession to Tāhūr Khān and in the 13th was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* on the death of Dānishmand Khān¹. He then had an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and his rank became 5,000 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1081 A H (1671 A D) he died. None of his sons reached eminence. His daughter was married to Lutf Ullāh Khān² the son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān.

(RUKN-UD-DAULA SAYYID) LASHKAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAŞİR JANG

(Vol II, pp 359-361)

His name was Mīr Ismā'il and his ancestors came from Sirpul near Balkh. His lineage goes back to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Dīvānah whose shrine in a village of the Panjāb is greatly respected, and who was a descendant of Shāh Nī'mat Ullāh Valī. His uncle Sayyid Hāshim Khān was in the royal service. As the father of Mīr Ismā'il died at an early age, Hāshim Khān brought him up. He became a servant among the 'Servants of the Special Brotherhood' which is a phrase for the Mughal *Manṣabdārs*, and received the title of Musāfir Khān. In the 1st year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign in the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān³ he in company with Nizām-ul-Mulk distinguished himself and overcame his opponents with the sword. Afterwards when Nizām-ul-Mulk at the summons of Muḥammad Shāh⁴ came to the Court, he described his bravery to the King. Accordingly, he was made *faujdar* of Attock. Afterwards he resigned that post, and went to the Deccan to the Nizām-ul-Mulk and was made *Bakhshī* of *Sāyar Sarkār* (the customs) and given the title of Sayyid Lashkar Khān. For a time he was employed in the settlement of Rājbandarī in Farkhundābunvād (Haidarābād). For a long time he

¹ *Maāthir* i- 'Ālamgīrī, p 105

² For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p 171-177

³ 'Ālam 'Alī Khān the nephew of Sayyid brothers of Bārah opposed Nizām-ul-Mulk Asāf Jah in the Deccan, and the battle took place close to Bālāpūr town in the Akōla District on 10th August, 1720. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irinc's Later Mughals*, II, pp 47-49

⁴ Khāfi Khān, II, p 939 and Irvine, *loc cit*, p 106

was governor of the province of Aurangābād. Later he accompanied Nizām-ul-Mulk to Upper India, and did good service during the time of Nādir Shāh. When the disturbance of Bāji Rāo, the general of Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle, which took place in the Deccan led to the battle with Nāsir Jang the Martyr, and the Rāo having received a severe chastisement died shortly afterwards,¹ Ismā'īl, at the request of (Nizām-ul-Mulk) Bahādūr, went and offered consolation to the brother and son of the deceased and established cordial relations. He again went to Upper India with the said Bahādūr and returned to the Deccan in 1153 A H. After the death of Nasir-ud-Daula he was appointed as the Deputy Governor of Aurangābād, and had the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse and was given the title of Bahādūr and the gift of a flag and a drum. In the time of Nāsir Jang the Martyr,² he received the title of Nasir Jang. After the battle of Pondicherry he again became Governor of Aurangābād. In the time of Šalābat Jang³ his rank became 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and he had the title of Rukn-ud-Daula, and was made the Prime Minister. On resignation from this office he became Governor of Berār, and when that post was given to Nizām-ud-Daula Āsaf Jāh he was appointed to the charge of Aurangābād. He died in 1170 A H (1757 A D). He was distinguished for his good nature and his observance of the religious laws. He honoured the learned and the poor. He was very charitable, and was well acquainted with administrative work. But he was less experienced in financial matters. He left some daughters. His cousins Sayyid 'Arif Khān and Sayyid Zarif Khān came to him from Lāhore, and he behaved kindly to both of them. He gave one of his daughters (in marriage) to Mir Jumla younger son of Zarif Khān. At the time of writing he (Mir Jumla) has the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and the title of 'Azīm-ud-Daula Nasir Jang Bahādūr, and is in charge of Aurangābād and the management of the estates of Nizām ud Daula Āsaf Jah in that province, and is an object of favour with the said Nizām ud-Daula. His elder brother Raf'at-ud-Daula Bahādūr Zorāwar Jang was for a long time the *Bakhshī* of the Mughal *Risāla* (cavalry) in the Nizām-ud-Daula's service. At present he is the Deputy Governor of Nāndār. His rank is 5,000. He is a bold and sincere man.

(RĀI) LŪNKARN KACHWĀHA⁴

(Vol II, pp 116, 117)

He was a Shaikhāwat, and his estate was in the pargana of Sāmbar. He entered the service of Akbar and was kindly received. In the 21st year he was appointed along with Kunwar Mūn Singh against the Rānā,

¹ See Kincaid and Parasani's *History of the Maratha People*, p. 270 and *Cambridge History of India* IV, p. 383. Bāji Rāo died on 25th April 1740.

² For his biography see *Maāthir ul Umarā*, III pp 818-862. He was killed by Hummat Khān the Pathān chief of Kurnool on 16th December 1750.

³ His full title was Āsaf ud Daula Zafar Jang Amīr ul Mamālik. For his biography see *Maāthir ul Umarā* I pp 365-369. Beveridge's translation pp. 279-280. Lashkar Khān is mentioned as having been made the Prime Minister after Rāja Rughnāth Dās was killed.

⁴ See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in* I (2nd edn) p. 554 under 'Lay Manohar'. For the derivation of his name see Beveridge's translation of *Ā'in* III p. 295, note 4.

Verse

Learn from the eye to be separate and united,
 For the two eyes are distinct, and yet do not see separately
 His two brothers Īsā Dās and Sīnyā Dās left children

LUTFI ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 171-177)

He was the eldest 7 son of Sīd Ullāh Khān Jumalat ul Mulk whose noble qualities will remain famous for ages. When that famous Pāzīr died in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's 30th year, Lutfi Ullāh Khān was eleven years old. He received the rank of 700 with 100 horse and was the subject of royal favours. When the reins of power fell into the hands of Aurangzīb, he was graciously treated on account of his father's having had a closer connection with Aurangzīb than with the other princes, and

¹ See *Albarnāma*, Text III, pp. 196, 210, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 278, 295

² *Albarnāma*, Text III, p. 221, Beveridge's translation III, p. 311, note 1. Manōharnagar is now known as Manōharpūr, and is situated 28 miles N. E. of Jaipūr, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 200.

³ See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzūk-i Jahānī*, I, p. 17.

⁴ In Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112, his rank is given as 1,000 and 600 horse.

⁵ Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁶ Tausūf means a spirited horse, see *Muntalhab ul Tawārīkh*, Text III, p. 201.

⁷ His mother was daughter of Karīm Dād son of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rāushanī. Karīm Dād was executed in 1017 A. H. (1037-38 A. D.), see *Maāthir ul Umārā*, II, p. 248.

received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. He was continually cherished by Aurangzib and received accessions of rank. There were few of the higher *dārōghaships* (superintendencies) which he did not fill. In the 12th year he was appointed in charge of the *Dāk chaulī* (Post Office) in the room of 'Āqil Khān. In the 13th year he was made Superintendent of the office of the Revision of Petitions in place of Hājī Ahmad Sa'id Khān. In the 14th year he was married to the daughter of Lashkar Khān Mir Bakhshī, who had died earlier. In the 19th year after the King's return from Hasan Abdāl to Lāhōre he was, in succession to Faid Ullāh Khān made the *Dārōgha* of the elephant-stables. In the 21st year he was, on the death of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz Akbarābādī again made Reviser of Petitions. In the same year he was honoured among his peers by being allowed to enter the fort in his palanquin. In the 23rd year the government of Lāhōre was entrusted to Prince Muhammad A'zam in succession to Qiwām-ud-Dīn Khān, and Lutf Ullāh Khān was made the Prince's deputy. Next year he came to the Court and was made Superintendent of the *Ghuslkhāna* in succession to 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān. In the 25th year he was made *Wāqī'a Khwān* (Recorder) in the room of Kāmgār Khān. Next year he was superintendent of the *Jilau Khāṣṣ* (Special stables) and of the *Chaukī Khāṣṣ* (Special guards).

As the abilities of Lutf Ullāh Khān were well known, and he possessed all kinds of excellences, he impressed all with his courage during the siege of Gōleonda. Especially was this so on that midnight when the besieged fell upon the royal battery (*damdama*)—which had been carried up to the level of the battlements—and spiked the cannon. Sayyid 'Izzat Khān the Chief of the artillery together with Sarbarāh Khān disciple of Jalāl were made prisoners.¹ Lutf Ullāh Khān with a body of the special guards (*Chaukī Khāṣṣ*) had been appointed to guard the battery, and for three days he bravely maintained himself in the middle of the river which is at the foot of the fort, till another body of troops arrived and drove off the enemy, and secured the battery. The Khān had his rank increased² by 500. As his courage had been tested, he was sent³ in the 34th year to the *thāna* of Kahtā'ōn to chastise the robbers (the Mahrattas). In the following year he was again appointed to superintend the Post department in succession to Salābat Khān. In the same year his rank was reduced⁴ on account of some error, but after a time he was restored to favour. In the 39th year he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Saf Shikan Khān, and in succession to Khānazād Khān was made the *Dārōgha* of the *Khāṣṣ-Chaukī*. In the 43rd year his rank was 3,000 with 2,000 horse and he was given drums, and appointed to the government of Bijāpūr. In the 45th year he was removed from this office, and had an increase of 500 horse and appointed to the government of Aurangābād. In the 46th year that government was, after the taking of the fortress of Khēlnā, given to Prince Bidār Bakht, and Khān Firūz Jang was ordered to come from Berār and to take charge of the royal encampment. Lutf Ullāh Khān, who was the brother-in-law of Firūz Jang, was made the Deputy Governor of the province. The Khān died⁵ before he reached⁶ he

¹ *Maāthir* : 'Ālamgīrī, p. 291

² In *Maāthir* : 'Ālamgīrī, p. 303, it is stated that his rank was 2,000 with horse and that he had an increase of 200 horse

^{3,4} *Maāthir* : 'Ālamgīrī, pp. 337-341

⁵ *Maāthir* : 'Ālamgīrī, p. 401

district, in the year 1114 A H (1702-3 A D) He possessed talents and courage and repeatedly distinguished himself and ought to have had higher promotions, but perhaps some levities and other defects in his disposition prevented this

It is well known that one day the King was reading a report which contained some secret information Before the King had spoken of it, the contents were reported to him, and an inquiry was made as to how they had been divulged At last the King correctly and with conviction said that Lutf Ullāh Khān must have done this Afterwards it became known that the Khān had from behind (Amangzīb) understood (read) the whole of the report and mentioned it to other people Accordingly he was for some days excluded from the private audience He used unfamiliar expressions and words, which required a dictionary to explain them His artificial phrases and his difficult compounds are famous among men His son Muhammad Khalil 'Ināyat Khān was for some time governor of Burhānpūr He had a military frame of mind and was also of a literary turn (*mīrzā manish*) He was not without ability in the composition of Hindī melodies In the battle of Jāyau,¹ which took place between Shāh Ālam and Muhammad A'zam Shāh for the sovereignty of India, he was with Jahāndār Shah Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's army When the Bārāh Sayyids, who were few in number in the van and were hotly engaged, 'Ināyat Khān came to their aid When it appeared that the enemy were getting the better of the fight, he alighted from his elephant Nūr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān the brother of Hasan 'Alī Khān and Husam 'Alī Khān saw this and said to their brethren that it would be a shame if a Shaikhzāda carried off the palm Saying this, they also alighted from their elephants, and encountered Amān Ullāh Khān, Sayyid Aūtād Muhammad, Ibrāhīm Bēg Basrī and other old servants of Muhammad A'zam Shāh, who since long were well known for courage and bravery A severe fight took place 'Ināyat Khān received several grievous wounds and fell on the ground A breath of life remained, but he soon died Bahādur Shāh gave him the name of 'Ināyat Khān the Martyr, and looked after his sons, who were of tender age In the reign of Muhammad Shāh at the time when Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk came from the Deccan to the Capital and became Vazīr on the death of Muhammad Amīn Khān, he married the daughter of the martyred Khān She was his cousin (daughter of maternal uncle) and received the name of Sāhib Bēgam This connection led to Lutf Ullāh's sons becoming the recipients of fresh favours Hafiz-ud-Dīn and Muhammad Sa'id Khān, who were her full brothers, came to the Deccan by the favour of Āsaf Jāh and after the battle² with Mubāriz Khān each was appointed to a lucrative *faujdarship*, and were given drums, etc Afterwards Hafiz-ud-Dīn became Deputy Governor of Burhānpūr When in 1150 A H (1737 A D) Āsaf Jāh went again to the Capital, he took both the brothers with him They liked staying in Delhī and did not return with him, but entered the service of the King Both had distinguished qualities,

¹ Battle of Jāyau 18th June, 1707, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's* *Mr Mughals*, I, pp 25-34

² Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakar Khēlda some 80 miles from Aurangābād on 11th October, 1724, between 'Imād-ul Mulk Mubāriz Khān and Nizām ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, see *Irvine, op cit*, II, pp 145-150

especially Muḥammad Sa'id Khān Bahādur was a real aristocrat (*amīrzāda*) Though they attained higher office than their father or grandfather they did not rise to the same position and influence Two other brothers, Muḥī-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān and Mu'in-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān were in Delhi and were killed in the general massacre of Nādir Shāh ¹

LUTF ULLĀH KHĀN ṢĀDIQ

(Vol. III, pp 177, 178)

One of the Anṣārī Shaikhzādas His home was in Pānīpat He came to the Court during the reign of Bahādur Shāh and rose from a low rank to that of an Amīr He was censured in Jahāndār Shāh's reign and his home was confiscated On this account he sought to join Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar, and after the latter's victory he, along with Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān was appointed to administer the Capital Qutb-ul-Mulk nominated him to the *Divānī* of the *Khālṣa* The King had given this office to Chabla Rām Nāgar, and on this account there was ill feeling between the King and his *Vazīr* Qutb-ul-Mulk said that as the Vazīr's first recommendation had not been accepted, it was evident ² what his (Qutb-ul-Mulk's) position was At last the Khān's appointment was confirmed In Muḥammad Shāh's reign he was made *Khān-i-Sāmān* and had the rank of 6,000, and the title of Shams-ud-Daula Bahādur Mutahawwar Jang After Nādir Shāh came, Lutf Ullāh did acts which were disapproved of and he was consequently censured ³ He died in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh The reason why he got the appellation of Ṣādiq is well known ⁴ Dil'ēr Dīl Khān was his brother He accompanied the Amīr-ul-Umarā and attained the rank of 3,000 Another brother was Shēr Afgan Khān He was *faujdār* of Karra near Allahābād Among his sons, Ināyat Khān Rāsikh and Shākīr Khān received some promotion

¹ On 11th March, 1739, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar in Irvine, *op cit*, II, pp 367-370, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 361, where the date is 22nd March, the date in the former work is according to the Old Style

² Khāfi Khān, II, p 730

³ He was the governor of Delhi at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, and handed over the city without fighting to his agent He was confirmed in his post of the governor by Nādir Shāh, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p 362

⁴ Khāfi Khān from whom the above account is taken does not mention the reason, but perhaps it refers to the advice given by him to Farrukh siyar to dismiss a number of the bodyguard, *op cit*, p 769

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